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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND THE BRITISH PERIODICALS

By

John L. Morrison*

Periods of political reform are often marked by reactionary movements in religion. As the liberals take control of the legislative processes, Toryism retreats within the sanctuary where religion not infrequently becomes the tortoise shell of the conservatives. Safely ensconced, their defensive needs narrow to the requirement that they not be drawn out by the demands of the State. They seek to formulate a system which justifies and sustains a maximum of independence from secular control. Historically, they become attracted to a romanticized past in which incidents like Henry IV's submission at Canossa loom as a kind of *beau idéal*. Intellectually, they fashion arguments to support Gelasius' classic doctrine of the two swords. The Tractarian or Oxford Movement, coinciding as it did with England's Reform Age, 1832-1867, educed just such tactics. Tractarian theology, from this standpoint, was not exclusively a religious issue. It could instead be interpreted as the doctrinal imperative of an anti-Erastian polity. The informed British public usually took this view of the matter. Englishmen who discussed the Oxford doctrines found themselves interested in the impact of Tractarian thought upon Church-State relations and political theory. For most, this constituted the chief attraction of the Oxford Movement.

* Mr. Morrison is associate professor of history in Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

The founders of the Oxford Movement, led by John Keble, can all be classified as strong Tories whose initial purpose, at least, was to protect the Church from the encroachments of the State.[1] The movement began with the suppression by the British reformers of ten Irish bishoprics. Their action provoked Keble's assize sermon on "National Apostasy," which called for resistance to the invasion of the Church's rights.[2] Responding to Keble's call, a small band of theologians united in this hour of peril to save the Church "by reviving together with the doctrine of apostolical succession what we may term the ecclesiastical spirit, 'the mind of the Church.' "[3] As their little group labored at comparatively isolated Oxford, issuing the *Tracts for the Times*, preaching, and propagandizing among the clergy, a fierce controversy raged outside over the Irish Church Bill. The leading British journals entered the lists in this and succeeding struggles. In so doing, they provided a partisan commentary on the development of the Oxford Movement. More than that, they supplied an answer to the neglected question of what the Oxford Movement meant to factions not directly involved in it.

A relatively new phenomenon at the time, the British periodicals furnish the historian with an excellent sampling of public opinion. Displaying considerable gusto and intellectual vigor, they were at the height of their influence in this era. Francis Jeffrey had established the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 as his contribution to the Whig cause. The Tories had countered with *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817) and the more moderate *Quarterly Review* (1809). Later the utilitarians obtained a voice in the *Westminster Review* (1824), while the Non-conformist bastion was defended by the *British Quarterly Review* (1845). Each journal thus represented a major political force opera-

[1] Descriptive sketches of the Oxford reformers are available in R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement, Twelve Years, 1833-1845* (London, 1861), pp. 23-91. Church and other authorities, notably George M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1782-1919* (New edition, London, 1937), p. 281, maintain that the Oxford reformers had little interest in political affairs. The point is debatable. For a contrary view, cf. Alvan S. Ryan, "The Development of Newman's Political Thought," *Review of Politics*, VII (April, 1945), 211: "It is no exaggeration to say that the Movement was as much concerned with politics as with religion, for from its inception the central question was that of the relation between Church and State."

[2] Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 4.

[3] Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People*, translated by E. I. Watkin and D. A. Baker (3 vols., New York, 1924-1928), III, 151.

tive in nineteenth-century England. Its political allegiance was, in turn, determined by its adherence to a particular philosophical outlook, economic interest, and social class. A periodical's policy toward events in the religious field effectively reflected these loyalties and indicated the extent to which they were affected by ecclesiastical trends.[4]

Sharing as it did the Tractarians' apprehensions about the government's religious program, *Blackwood's Magazine* was the first to give attention to the protests emanating from Oxford. This aggressively Tory journal discerned in the Irish Church Bill an attack upon all the established interests—nobility, throne, and landed estates. It angrily charged that the bill was spawned from the lowest depths of Jacobinism. The measure, it said, gave "damning confirmation to all that has been asserted respecting the dominion of the mob."[5] The Church had been singled out for destruction, the magazine continued, because its teachings constituted the principal defense of the established order. Sweep away that barrier and the rest—destruction of society, the constitution, and all the other symbols of conservatism—would be easy.[6] To forestall such horrors, *Blackwood's* echoed the Tractarian demand that the Church assert its integrity and demonstrate that it was not "a mere engine of State policy, . . . a mere State religion—a mere thing created by an act of Parliament."[7]

Up to this point Toryism, as exemplified by *Blackwood's*, went right along with the thinking of the Oxford reformers. Farther than this it refused to go. *Blackwood's* balked because its approach was fundamentally distinct from that of the Tractarians. Keble, Newman, and the Puseyites were motivated by religious zeal; they feared for the sanctity of their Church. The Tories' position rested on economic foundations; they feared for the sanctity of their property. It was not the elimination of the bishoprics that alarmed *Blackwood's*, but the "sacrilegious appropriation" of property involved in the financial provisions of the Church Bill. The magazine argued that if the govern-

[4] For a study of the British magazines, cf. Walter J. Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 251-254, 275-280.

[5] "The Progress of the Movement," *Blackwood's Magazine*, XXXIII (April, 1833), 651. Henceforth this journal will be cited as *Blackwood's*. With rare exceptions, all articles in the British journals were anonymous and represented the editorial policy of the magazine.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 654-655.

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 664-665.

ment had the right to dispose of the bishops' lands at its own discretion, then it had an equal right to seize the lands of every nobleman and gentleman. Shuddering in dismay at the prospect, the Tory journal declared that the government's principle had dangerous tendencies. What happened to the Church seemed a portent of what might happen next to the gentry.[8]

In view of this outlook *Blackwood's,* although concurring with the Tractarians' diagnosis of the disease, could not agree with the strong anti-Erastian remedy concocted at Oxford. In its place the Tories offered a more cautious theory of the Establishment. An established church is a necessity for a State which professes to be Christian, the Tory argument ran. Since Church and State must be mutually dependent on each other, the point at which the actions of the more aggressive partner, the State, begin to infringe upon the welfare of the Church may be taken as the utmost limit of the State's rights. Applying this semi-Erastian conception to England, *Blackwood's* concluded that the State has the power to reform the Church, but may not adopt any measure tending to its harm or destruction. Similarly, the State is duty-bound to aid in projects which the Church adjudges essential to her well being.[9]

In contrast to the Oxford program, *Blackwood's* plan was inherently incapable of defending the Establishment against governmental encroachment. It was, of course, intended to be a counsel of moderation, but a scheme so filled with flaws could only produce an abject Tory retreat. Three criticisms seem in order. According to *Blackwood's,* the State was to have the right of reforming the Church. The Church Bill was such a reform. Who was to say otherwise? Who was to decide when reform became destruction? With the Tory tide ebbing, the bishops unwilling to speak, perhaps, for fear of losing their livings,

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 653-655. It should be noted that the Tractarians were also worried about the State's financial weapon, although they were concerned about the Church, not the gentry. Quoting Lacordaire's remarks to the French bishops, Richard Hurrell Froude had pointed out that: "Une seule chose leur est possible; le retranchement de votre budget." Quoted in Ryan, "Development of Newman's Thought," *Review of Politics,* VII (April, 1945), 215. In his *Apologia* Newman had condemned the proposition that: "The Civil Power may dispose of Church property without sacrilege." John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London, 1900), p. 296.

[9] "A Letter to the King on the Irish Church Bill," *Blackwood's,* XXXIII (May, 1833), 724-725, 727; "Moneypenny on Church Extension," *Blackwood's,* XLII (September, 1837), 380-381, 383.

and the Puseyites rejected, who could better decide than the State itself, the representative of the people? And the people approved of the Church Bill. Secondly, *Blackwood's* case was historically weak. In accepting the association of Church and State, the whole record of political interference in religious affairs, from Henry VIII's confiscation of monastic property to the Irish Church Bill's confiscation of the bishops' lands, was accepted by implication. Finally, *Blackwood's* was guilty of illogically asking the Church to unite with a State whose governors, it said, were political Jacobins and enemies of religion.

Upon analysis it is apparent that the Tory mouthpiece preferred to rely on a historically shopworn bromide rather than accept the Puseyite program. A seemingly natural alliance with the Oxford forces was rejected, even at the risk of disaster to the Tory cause. The reason for this Tory aversion to Tractarianism, which can be found not only in *Blackwood's* but in all the British press, helps to explain the relatively minuscule influence of the Puseyites. The Tractarians were clearly headed toward the Roman Catholic faith. The prospect of a victory for Rome so repelled all English factions, on nationalistic if not theological grounds, as to override all other considerations. A fictional satire in *Blackwood's* expressed this British distaste for Romanism most forcefully. The story played expertly upon popular misconceptions of the Tractarians, their supposed hypocrisy, deception. Jesuitical tactics, and Roman sympathies. The villain of the piece was a cunning Tractarian priest who had taken orders in the Roman Church but retained his curacy in the Anglican. The victim was a moderate High Church minister who was being forced by his parishioners, especially the young ladies, to introduce Tractarian ritual. The priest, who had been representing himself as an orthdox Anglican, was called in to stem the tide. He proceeded to ingratiate himself with minister and parish, abolishing all that hinted of Puseyism. When his control was secure, however, he set out to achieve his real aim. He began to advocate ritualism, declaring that the form was more important than the spirit: "Go through the ceremonies, sir — the feeling in time will come . . . kneel when you have no devotion, bend yourself to decrees and ordinances when you have no humility and no faith; and, entering on that course with the scoff of Voltaire, you will emerge from it with the sanctity of Vincent de Paul."[10] He encouraged belief in miracles which were ridiculous frauds and slowly let his Roman ideas be known. By the time the local minister realized

[10] "Letters to the Rev. Charles Fustian," *Blackwood's*, LXV (June, 1849), 692.

what was happening, his flock was securely within the Tractarian fold.[11] Such tales as this afford valuable insight into popular anti-Tractarian prejudices which formed a part of English opinion on the Oxford Movement.

British journals realized the Tractarians' Romeward drift early in the Oxford Movement. After 1838, e.g., *Blackwood's* railed incessantly against the "Progress of Popery."[12] The *Edinburgh Review,* on behalf of the Whigs, hinted at Romish tendencies as early as 1836 when it reviewed John Henry Newman's *History of the Arians.*[13] In July, 1838, the review made its charge specific in an article entitled "Oxford Catholicism." Rome and Oxford, said the Whig organ, concur in demanding submission to human authority, in elevating external acts of devotion above spiritual feeling, and in substituting imagination and sense experience in areas reserved to the intellect. "In what," therefore, they asked, "does the modern creed of Oxford differ from the ancient faith of Rome?"[14] In 1841 the *Edinburgh Review* accused the Tractarians of excusing the faults of Rome while severely censuring those of the Anglican Church. Their adoption of the spirit and general content of Roman doctrines, the journal alleged, made them "enemies of all that distinguishes the Protestant creed!"[15] Subsequently, the review greeted the appearance of Newman's celebrated Tract Ninety as an attempt on his part to hold back a major emigration to Rome. His *via media,* with its Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, was upbraided as a desperate expedient for holding Oxfordites who were convinced they belonged in the Roman fold. It would not work, said the journal, for the *via media* was nothing but "the old Roman Road uncovered and made passable."[16] The final judgment of the *Edinburgh Review* amounted to a sentence of journalistic excommunication against the Newman forces: "Their doctrines may be right, but they are not those of the English Church."[17]

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 679-696.

[12] "The Progress of Popery," *Blackwood's,* XLIV (October, 1838), 494-507.

[13] "Newman's History of the Arians," *Edinburgh Review,* LXIII (April, 1836), 53. Henceforth this journal will be cited as *E. R.*

[14] "Oxford Catholicism—The Lives of Whitfield and Froude," *E. R.,* LXVII (July, 1838), 531.

[15] "Tracts for the Times—Number Ninety," *E. R.,* LXXIII (April, 1841), 272.

[16] *Ibid.,* 275, 286; "Puseyism, or the Oxford Tractarian School," *E. R.,* LXXVII (April, 1843), 504.

[17] "Tracts for the Times," *E. R.,* LXXIII (April, 1841), 273.

The conversion of Newman to the Roman Catholic faith in 1845 confirmed, of course, all these suspicions and occasioned no surprise. The newly founded magazine of the Non-conformists, the *British Quarterly Review,* interpreted Newman's departure as proof that "Puseyism is popery—nothing less."[18] Scattering its fire recklessly, the review assailed the Oxford Movement as a treacherous attack on Protestantism, the Reformation, the Bible, and justification by faith. Its disciples really belonged in Rome, where, according to the Non-conformist journal, their slanders and misrepresentations of Protestantism would be properly appreciated.[19]

Despite these initial shotgun tactics, the *British Quarterly Review* soon settled down to a more sober evaluation of the Oxford Movement. In retrospect, the magazine found that it had no quarrel with the Tractarians' original purpose, reinvigoration of the Anglican Church. In its opinion, however, the method which had been employed at Oxford, revival of the claims of the priesthood through apostolic succession, had led to fatal results. It had involved tracing a line of descent through the Roman Church, an institution which everyone, Tractarians included, had identified with Antichrist. Newman had escaped this dilemma by establishing an independent succession within the English Church. Thus the *via media* had been born, and the Anglicans presented to the world as the One, Holy, Apostolic, Catholic Church.[20] The *British Quarterly Review* did not find such historical sleight of hand very impressive. The *via media,* it said, became nothing but a floating island between the solid rocks of Catholicism and Protestantism. When the seas were troubled, men would desert the island for the safety of the rocks.[21]

Continuing its historical review of the Oxford Movement, the Non-conformist journal asserted that the Tractarians, deluded by their own arguments, had tried to mold the English Church to the new image. They had revived many of the beliefs discarded in the Reformation: clerical celibacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, miracles, confession, and veneration of relics. Liturgy and ritual, lamented the review, had usurped the place of the Bible, while the Redeemer had been pushed

[18] "Tractarian Theology. Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church," *British Quarterly Review,* I (February, 1845), 39. Henceforth this journal will be cited as *B. Q. R.*

[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 43, 56, 77-78.

[20] "Churchmen on the Church," *B. Q. R.,* XLI (January, 1865), 82-83.

[21] "Tractarian Novels," *B. Q. R.,* VIII (August, 1848), 211.

into the background by the concept of an infallible Church. Tractarian methods had soon become increasingly Jesuitical. Novels, e.g., had been used to propagate doctrines which they had dared not express openly. By 1845 their theological progress toward Rome had been consummated. Many Tractarians had become Catholics, the review noted, but some retained their livings in the English Church and worked secretly as agents for the cause of Rome.[22] The Oxford Movement had, therefore, eventuated, in the opinion of the *British Quarterly Review,* in "a system of priestly power to sway the destinies of two worlds."[23]

It would appear from this review that the Catholic philosophy of the Newmanites, for which their adherence to Rome was merely a repulsive symbol, was the primary cause of Non-conformist opposition to the Oxford Movement. Tractarian hostility to Protestant doctrine, and incidentally to the *Weltanschauung* growing out of that doctrine, were the offending features. Unfortunately, the *British Quarterly Review* offered no extended analysis of the subject to clarify its philosophical and political implications.

To the Nonconformists, Newman's flight to Rome may simply have excited their anti-Catholic animus, but to the *Quarterly Review,* spokesman for the more moderate, less aristocratic Tory faction, it posed singular problems. Less hidebound conservatives than those represented by *Blackwood's,* the *Quarterly's* constituents were profoundly disturbed by the strange new weapon forged by the Tractarians. Their High Church sentiments as well as their political prejudices led them to embrace the Oxford Movement as a reassertion of orthodoxy. Its ritualism, mysticism, and doctrinal absolutism appealed to their conservative spirit. Consequently, until the dreaded specter of Romanism repelled them, their journal undertook a sympathetic defense of the Puseyites. The result was a revealing exposition of the social implications of Tractarian theology.

It is a conservative habit to lament the lapses of the current generation. The *Quarterly* was no exception. The present age, it asserted, "has waded far into disorder, . . . low materialistic views, rationalism, . . . and self-indulgence."[24] The country was going to the devil—the

[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 203-204, 212, 226; "English Thought and the English Church," *B. Q. R.,* XXXVII (April, 1863), 473.

[23] "Tractarian Novels," *B. Q. R.,* VIII (August, 1848), 232.

[24] "Oxford Theology," *Quarterly Review,* LXIII (March, 1839), 538. Henceforth this journal will be cited as *Q. R.*

devil in this case being that combination of dissenters, utilitarians, and liberals responsible for the reform bills. Afflicted with such leadership Englishmen, especially the commoners, were tempted to "insubordination" and neglected the "principles of order and discipline." Formerly the Church, in co-operation with the State, had been able to provide the moral cement which bound society together. Now with the government behaving like an enemy and conqueror, the Church was itself in danger of succumbing to the forces of disruption. If the Tory version of the good society were to be saved, the Church's vigor must be restored. The *Quarterly* thereupon proceeded to compound a prescription of Catholic principles, reverence for antiquity, and episcopal authority as an antidote for the Erastian poison.[25]

As the *Quarterly* saw it, then, the Oxford Movement promised to be a second Reformation. The original Protestant Revolt, it believed, had restored the pristine purity of the Catholic faith after it had been corrupted by the See of Rome. Catholicism had been rescued from Popery. Now the Church was being menaced by "Ultra Protestants," and it must combat the "Popery of Dissent."[26] Both Reformations, said the *Quarterly,* assumed that the essence of the English Church was its Catholicism. Rome had distorted, the liberals had rejected its exclusively Catholic nature. They had encrusted the faith with doctrinal changes, subjected the institution to illicit authority. Reform meant that the Church must scour off this noxious incrustation and reaffirm its divine commission. On this basis the review reasoned that the Church's salvation lay, not in Roman reaction or liberal innovation, but in the restoration of Catholicism.[27]

In the Tory mind, as mirrored in the *Quarterly Review,* Catholicism was equated with those religious practices which encouraged respect for the powers that be. Tractarian theology was supposed to culminate in the virtue of obedience. The first step toward this socially desirable goal was to revive the authority of the Church itself. Doctrines designed to exalt the Church's stature, independent of the State, were, therefore, treated sympathetically by the Tory journal. Apostolic succession, which derived clerical authority from Christ Himself, was defended as an established Anglican tradition. The administration of sacraments, which placed in the priest's hands the instruments of grace,

[25] *Ibid.,* 559-560; "The Universities," *Q. R.,* LIX (October, 1837), 483; "Memorials of Oxford," *Q. R.,* LXI (January, 1838), 226-228.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 227.

[27] *Ibid.,* pp. 227-228; "The Universities," *Q. R.,* LIX (October, 1837), 483.

was warmly approved.[28] If such beliefs produced a highly formal, heavily ritualized style of worship, so much the better. Ceremony appealed to the physical senses and to simple imagination, the review observed. These being the qualities attributed to the people, ritual would satisfy their appetites and divert them from dangerous individualistic thoughts.[29]

Elevation of the office of the clergy was expected to produce one result of particular merit in Tory eyes. It would encourage respect for all other offices, from the king down to the lowliest justice of the peace. A modified version of divine right would prevail, in which the official derived his powers ultimately from God. Surely, the journal thought, the people would revere their divinely sustained governors. They would not refuse to render "obedience to His appointment, whose authority he hath."[30] Entertaining such hopes, the *Quarterly Review* did not allow aversion to Rome to obscure the value of the Oxford Movement. Naturally the journal disavowed the spread of "superstitious and Roman doctrines,"[31] but even after Newman's conversion it tried to retain the Tractarians within the Anglican fold. Its attitude toward the schism was moderate, conciliatory, and grief stricken: "We must also contend that the transition of individuals to the Roman communion should be regarded as the greatest public calamity by all those who are anxious for the prevalence of truly sound and Catholic sentiments within the Church herself. . . ."[32]

The Tory defense just examined was not particularly strong. It blandly assumed the identity of Catholicity and spiritual truth, and of Anglicanism and Catholicism. Since these were the very points at issue, the *Quarterly* was bound to stumble over every rock strewn along the *via media*. But its argument was sensible, for it applied the Oxford techniques to the politico-religious needs of the conservative cause. A powerful Church would command respect and obedience from the commoners, who were otherwise prone to stray into the dissenters' ranks. If the masses were inured to spiritual obedience, they were less likely to prove unruly in secular affairs. Church discipline led to political discipline—that in brief seemed to be one of the most compelling

[28] "Oxford Theology," *Q. R.*, LXIII (March, 1839), 538-539.

[29] "The Cathedral Establishments," *Q. R.*, LVIII (February, 1837), 224.

[30] "Oxford Theology," *Q. R.*, LXIII (March, 1839), 538-539.

[31] "Rubrics and Ritual of the Church of England," *Q. R.*, LXXII (May, 1843), 236-237, 276.

[32] "Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church," *Q. R.*, LXXV (December, 1844), 193.

attractions of the Oxford Movement for the Tories. Not even the scandal of Romanism could make them renounce such a wholesome advantage. By holding fast and tenaciously riding out the storm of Newmanism, they managed to salvage a good deal. The Tractarians were forced to compromise theologically, and the Roman elements in their system were carefully winnowed out. As a result the Oxford Movement and the High Church merged into something distinct from either, modern Anglo-Catholicism. Later, when it was all over, the *Quarterly* would take pride in what the Tory absorption of Puseyism had wrought. A new Catholic faith, spiritually vital, socially comfortable, was ritualistically reflecting the conservative milieu:

> Look at the new-built and restored churches of the land; look at the multiplication of schools; the greater exactness of ritual observance; the higher standard of clerical life, service, and devotion; the more frequent celebrations; the cathedrals open; the loving sisterhoods labouring, under episcopal sanction, with the meek, active saintliness of the Church's purest time; look—above all, perhaps—at the raised tone of devotion and doctrine amongst us, and see in all these that the movement did not die.[33]

If conservatives found much to interest them in the fortunes of the Tractarians, the liberal forces found themselves even more vitally concerned. The voice of the Whigs, the *Edinburgh Review,* surpassed all other English journals in the amount of attention devoted to the Oxford Movement. Allowances being made for the pungent, partisan style of criticism which was common at the time, its discussions were serious attempts to grapple with the theological problems that had been raised. Much of its analysis was penetrating in its insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the Tractarians. There was a good understanding of the aims of Puseyism and a fair struggle against the methods employed. There was, above all, a clear conflict of basic philosophies, a conflict which reveals to some extent the effects of the Oxford Movement on middle class Protestantism.

In the beginning Lord Jeffrey's review did not regard the Oxford Movement as a serious challenge to its philosophical assumptions. Advised by Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby fame, it dismissed the "Oxford Malignants" as a group of formalizing Judaizers creating a stir over worthless objects: "a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony; —a technical phraseology;—the superstition of a priesthood, without its power;—the form of Episcopal government, without the sub-

[33] "Dr. Newman's Apologia," *Q. R.,* CXVI (October, 1864), 542.

stance. . . ."[34] Nevertheless, the journal appreciated that important questions of institutional reform had been raised by the Irish Church Bill. These problems might involve practical politics rather than theological truth, but they would help determine the Church-State relationship within which doctrinal matters could be decided. The Whig organ was much concerned with the Tractarian position from this point of view.

The *Edinburgh Review* took the position that the Church Bill generally achieved the good of the Church. The question was one of fact, not of principle. The condition of the Irish Establishment was so intolerable as to require immediate action. Size, the proportion of clergy to communicants, was the great defect of the Irish Church. Not only did this burden the Irish financially, but it was harmful to the spiritual efficiency of the Church. Although great difficulties were involved, the Church Bill removed these admitted defects, the latter through suppression of bishoprics, the former through tithe relief. The long range effects would be the renovation of the Irish Church and improved relations with the Irish Nonconformists.[35]

Realizing, however, that the Tory argument rested fundamentally on economic interest and social fear, the Whig review went beyond a mere appeal to expediency. The immediate issue, it reasoned, was State control over Church property; the underlying principle was the sanctity of all property. But, the Whigs contended, the Church was not a corporation at all in a legal sense, and so could hold no property. Clerical holdings, in land or otherwise, must be considered as public property, the revenues from which the State has assigned to the clergy in return for the performance of public duties. Since public property exists only for the benefit of the community, it cannot be alienated from the State, which retains at all times the power of disposal. The power of the State to dispense property so as to best benefit the civil and religious interests of the nation was absolute and unconditional. It included both the transfer of property from one parish to another, and the reappropriation of property from religious to secular purposes.[36]

[34] "The Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden," *E. R.*, LXIII (April, 1836), 235.

[35] "First Session of the Reformed Parliament," *E. R.*, LVIII (October, 1833), 203-204; "Ireland," *E. R.*, LVII (April, 1833), 275.

[36] "Abolition of Church Rates," *E. R.*, LXV (July, 1837), 187; "Tory Proceedings—State of Parties," *E. R.*, LIX (July, 1834), 512-514; "Appropriation

This theory accomplished the Whigs' aims. It enabled them to argue that appropriation of Church property had nothing to do in principle with individual or corporate private property. It reconciled friends of the Church to the measure by assuring them that its welfare was the sole motive for and result of the Church Bill. It permitted the practical isolation of the Irish from the English Church question. However, had the Tories cared to debate the issue on the higher ground occupied by the Whigs, they might have made some embarrassing inquiries. The corporate status of the Church, e.g., had not been definitively determined in law. By taking such a controverted point for granted, the *Edinburgh* articles reached the very conclusion which was contended, the right of the State to interfere with the Church. At a time when the Tractarians were loudly protesting that they would brook no intervention in religious affairs, the *Edinburgh Review* smugly stated that Parliament's power over the Church was absolute. By constructing a defense dependent in every particular on a disputed premise, it only convinced the Tractarians of the Church's danger. They were prodded into fighting fire with fire, one revolutionary principle, Erastianism, with another, apostolic succession. Keble's group was stimulated, not silenced, by the liberal theory. Excessive reliance on expediency might also have been charged against the Whigs. If Parliament could remove property as it saw fit, there was nothing to prevent a gradual alteration of the Church's status. Even though the liberals now considered an Anglican Establishment to be expedient, they made no secret of the fact that their ideal was State support of all religions. Should the inroads represented by the Church Bill continue, the obstacles to the realization of this ideal would be reduced. The fate of the Establishment under this theory was highly uncertain.

Implicit in the Whig argument was a conception of the Church diametrically opposed to that of the Tractarians. The *Edinburgh Review* refused to recognize the idea of a visible Catholic Church, the existence of which was essential in Tractarian theology. It declined also to identify the Church with its clergy, doctrine, or ceremony. If, indeed, there was such an entity as the Church beyond the parish unit, its essence lay in the communicants, and its unity derived from their

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of Church Property—Irish Catholic Clergy," *E. R.*, LX (January, 1835), 485, 490-495.

common religious worship. Moreover, the review was willing to embrace within the meaning of "common worship" the greatest possible divergence in doctrinal opinion and the most complete freedom of inquiry into religious questions.[37] It was attacking, in other words, the very elements which constituted the core of the Oxford Movement: the Church as a divine institution, the supremacy of authority over private judgment, and the dogma of apostolic succession.

Since its appeal to expediency led unavoidably to a fundamental difference in principle, the *Edinburgh Review* was certain to attempt a more basic analysis as the Oxford Movement developed. By 1843 it reported with some alarm that Puseyism was being insidiously diffused "in periodical publications of all sorts and sizes—in Reviews, Magazines, and Newspapers, in flimsy Pamphlets and bulky Volumes, in letters, in dialogues, in tales and novels, in poetry, in congenial fiction and perverted history, in every form of typography, and in every species of composition. . . ."[38] Under these circumstances Tractarian doctrines no longer seemed self-refuting. Once it had seemed sufficient to allege that Puseyism contradicted liberal beliefs, but now it appeared that the superiority of liberal values must be demonstrated. Attack was considered the best defense. By demolishing Tractarian theology, the Whigs would be able to contrast the ruined edifice of their opponents with their own shining, solid fortress of enlightened faith.

The *Edinburgh Review* placed itself in a good position for a fair tilt with the champions of Oxford. Unlike many who, from religious left and right, tried to sully the character of the Puseyites, the Whig journal realistically recognized that the Tractarians were men of high abilities and lofty sentiments, sincere, self-denying, virtuous leaders who were inspired by a "Divine command to recall their country to a piety more profound and masculine, more meek and contemplative."[39] Their integrity had impressed others and had allowed them to play an ever greater role in the lives of clergy and laity. It would be well to concede, said the *Edinburgh Review,* that: "They are not mere antiquarians. . . . They are men of our own times—holding opinions which sway the tone and temper of many a mind at this day; and wielding an influence whose centre is perhaps to be placed in our universities, but

[37] *Ibid.*, 485; "Tory Proceedings," *E. R.*, LIX (July, 1834), 512-514.
[38] "Puseyism," *E. R.*, LXXVII (April, 1843), 506.
[39] "Oxford Catholicism," *E. R.*, LXVII (July, 1838), 524.

whose circumference is wide enough to enclose the remotest corners of the land."[40]

Having no temptation, therefore, to indulge in personalities or insinuate base motives, the Whig journal managed to confine its remarks to the ideology of the Oxford Movement. In making this approach it acted on the premise that the anti-Erastian policy of the Tractarians flowed necessarily from their fundamental theological tenets. Given Tractarian assumptions about the nature of the Church, opposition to the Irish Church Bill and other Whig measures followed with perfect logic. Better than the other British periodicals, the *Edinburgh Review* appreciated that no defense of the government would be adequate which did not grapple with the roots of Tractarian theology. Particular laws were matters of the moment. What counted was the intellectual frame of reference out of which the State's religious bills were formulated. If, therefore, the Whig program was to be secured as the basis for England's future progress, the Whig philosophy must be vindicated and the fallacies of Tractarian thought exposed. Political duels, the *Edinburgh Review* reasoned, could be fought most advantageously in the theological field.[41]

With this groundwork laid, the Whig journal proceeded to an acute, critical analysis of the Tractarian argument. According to the review, the Oxford Movement was, above all, an ethical movement. Its whole system was built on the belief that man's highest perfection lay in the habitual obedience of his will to the divine law of good, i.e., to morality. The Tractarians understood, however, that in practice right and wrong were apt to intermingle. In fact, the mixture of good and evil was so complex and so subtle that in most cases they could not be distinguished by human reason. But if unaided reason lacked the power to separate right from wrong, a power which was indispensable to human life, then it must be sought elsewhere. The Tractarians, said the *Edinburgh Review,* maintained that it could be possessed only by a divine agency, which is the Church. Thus from a practical point of view, the Newman group arrived at an institutional imperative, exaltation of Church authority in the interest of morality.[42] Subsequent Tractarian claims were nothing but props for an authoritarian institution.

[40] "History of Arians," *E. R.*, LXIII (April, 1836), 44.
[41] "Tracts for the Times," *E. R.*, LXXIII (April, 1841), 271.
[42] "History of Arians," *E. R.*, LXIII (April 1836), 45-46.

The *Edinburgh Review* pictured this distrust of human abilities as the motivating force behind the Oxford Movement. The Tractarian mind, said the journal, could rest easy only when it had secured divine assistance for human frailty. The confidence of inspiration rather than the challenge of investigation was its lodestar. Correctly enough, the review regarded this as a rejection of the two great advances of the modern era, the Enlightenment and the Reformation. Most Englishmen, it was certain, still preferred the private judgment encouraged by the Reformation and the independent inquiry fostered by the Age of Reason to the comfort of authority. The British people knew that good habits could not be created by suppressing the logical faculties, that zeal was not a substitute for conviction, and that morality was not just a matter of form. These truths, the *Edinburgh Review* believed, were sufficient to shatter any pseudo-divine house of glass.[43] The journal admitted that, for those who desired it, there was an authority which claimed inspired infallibility in faith and morals. But that authority was to be found in the Roman Church, not the Anglican. Tractarian doctrines could be held consistently within the framework of Roman Catholic theology, where they did not repudiate Britain's development during the preceding three centuries. The Tractarians have renounced history, said the journal; now they should sever their ties with the English Church.[44]

In the remaining controversy, the *Edinburgh Review* returned constantly to its final conclusion: that Tractarian theology failed because it tried to uphold Roman Catholic doctrines in a Protestant Church. The useless attempt only injured the Church and did violence to the consciences of the Tractarians themselves. For the sake of the Establishment, the review demanded that the Church authorities refuse to tolerate Puseyism. For the sake of consistency, it urged Newman and Pusey to enter the Roman Church.[45]

The *Edinburgh Review's* analysis of the Oxford Movement had so far explained why the Tractarians desired an authoritarian Church. The magazine next discussed the doctrinal means by which such an institution could be established. In its judgment, the Tractarians relied chiefly on three concepts: emphasis on the fathers of the Church,

[43] *Ibid.*, 45; "Oxford Catholicism," *E. R.*, LXVII (July, 1838), 525; "The Right of Private Judgment," *E. R.*, LXXVI (January, 1843), 382-419.

[44] "Puseyism," *E. R.*, LXXVII (April, 1843), 528; "Recent Developments of Puseyism," *E. R.*, LXXX (October, 1844), 371-372.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 369, 371-372.

the spirit of Catholicism, and the dogma of apostolic succession. The first, acting as it did as the foundation for the other two, received the most intensive treatment from the review.

The Tractarians were true reactionaries, said the Whig journal, and their attachment to the Church Fathers proved it. Disavowing the present Establishment, they had searched the past for the kind of Church they wanted. They found what they were looking for in patristic theology. The fathers, who had preached the superiority of the City of God over the State, as represented by the old Roman Empire, seemed to be writing for the nineteenth century. St. Augustine made good sense to a Tractarian. Consequently, the Puseyites had revived the authority of the patristic authors. They collected certain "scattered notions" of the great Anglican divines to prove that perfected Christianity could be best studied in the Church of the patristic age. While not denying the divinely inspired character of the Bible, they revered the fathers as a source of revelation equal if not superior to Scripture. Private interpretation of the Bible, they contended, should be constrained within the bounds set by the fathers and directed by the guideposts of tradition. By these means, commented the *Edinburgh Review*, the Tractarians had surrounded their ideal of an independent, sacerdotal Church with the aura of antiquity and the discipline of custom.[46]

The *Edinburgh Review* was not so ready to dethrone the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith. It was prepared to contend that the patristics were unreliable and less than inspired. What were the views of the fathers, the review inquired? There were insuperable difficulties in the way of finding an answer. The patristic manuscripts were disfigured by forgeries and interpolations; there was no agreement as to which documents were genuine; their works were voluminous and written in a dead language; and they contained errors, obscurities, and contradictions. The inevitable result was a fruitless, arid battle of citations:

> The Romanist brings forward a citation:—'you are to consider the rhetorical mode of reasoning of these venerable men,' exclaims the Protestant. The Protestant countercites—'you are not to forget,' says the Romanist, 'that it was said in the heat of controversy, when it is so natural to deal in unlimited propositions.' The Romanist is ready with another; 'the writing is not genuine—most probably a forgery,' shouts the Protestant .... To a fourth it is said, 'it is an interpolation of the Greeks.'

[46] "Puseyism," *E. R.*, LXXVII (April, 1843), 504-505.

To a fifth, 'it was foisted in by the Latins.' To a sixth, 'the passage is corrupt; there are five different readings, and twice as many renderings.' To a seventh, 'it is a contradiction only in appearance . . . .' To an eighth, '. . . you are to consider the *reserve* of the early Church.' To a ninth, 'true, that the passage says so, but here is another from the same author, directly in the teeth of it;' and so on forever . . . . Babel itself is but a faint image of this 'confusion of tongues.'[47]

Still other objections against the fathers were urged by the *Edinburgh Review*. They had lived in a superstitious and relatively ignorant age, from which they had naturally imbibed many false notions. They had been intellectually surrounded by and infected with polytheism, paganism, and Oriental religions. Some of their doctrines, consequently, were foreign to the spirit of the Bible. Still other beliefs, such as monasticism, hagiolatry, and miracles, could not be reconciled with the Anglican system. Further problems were discovered by the Whig magazine in the celebrated rule of Vincent of Lerins —tradition is that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. This rule, said the journal, was either an absurdity, since it was impossible to employ without limitations, or a nullity, since it required qualifications that destroyed its utility as a guide. Thus, carried along by the cumulative force of its own criticisms, the review confidently concluded that patristic literature was generally worthless, that it was not divinely inspired, and that it represented a corruption rather than a development of scriptural doctrine. The fathers, some of whom were learned for their day, should be judged and respected on the same basis as other mortals. Nothing, said the journal, could be more ridiculous than the extravagant claims which have made demi-gods out of them.[48] The folly of the Tractarians in elevating them to such a high station manifestly suggested the Newmanites' desperate plight. They could not just publish their personal opinions, that would be presumptuous; they needed a historical foundation for their theology. Tradition, first principles of the Church, patristic teaching—all these titles were intended to dignify the ideas of Newman and Pusey. But

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 530.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-535, 543-545. At the risk of suggesting a thought not entertained by the *Edinburgh Review*, it might be noted that this vigorous assault on the fathers may have been motivated, in part, by the journal's realization that Church tradition and political conservatism were closely allied. Ryan, "Development of Newman's Thought," *Review of Politics*, VII (April, 1945), 223-224, points out that Newman adopted Burke's traditionalist view of the British constitution.

the Whigs were not to be hoodwinked; they had seen through the mask of tradition which disguised the *ex cathedra* pronouncements of the Tractarians.[49]

The *Edinburgh Review* wasted little time in disposing of the other Tractarian doctrines. Apostolic succession, according to the review, was a palpable absurdity, destitute of historical proof and offensive to Christian charity. Historically, the Reformation had made the validity of Anglican orders under apostolic succession an impossible proposition. How, the journal inquired, could the Tractarians escape from the obvious dilemma? "If error in essentials is sufficient to invalidate Orders, we ask—had the Romish Church so erred when you separated from her? If she had, her own Orders were invalid, and she could not transmit yours. If she had not, as you all affirm that nothing but heresy in fundamentals can justify *separation,* you are schismatics, and your own Orders are invalid."[50] Of even greater concern to the *Edinburgh Review* was the two-fold offense of apostolic succession against charity and holiness. No sensible gifts were bestowed upon the recipient at ordination; he was not made wiser, purer, or given miraculous power. Yet this concept presumed to confer spiritual functions upon the ordained without the slightest regard for his fitness. A minister might not be moral, might not even be a Christian, yet if he were in the correct line of succession his orders were legitimate. Contrariwise, the clerical claims of the non-episcopal minister with surpassing piety and learning were coldly rejected. A doctrine so contrary to the spirit of the New Testament could not be accepted, said the Whig review.[51]

Adoption by the Tractarians of the trappings of Catholicism also antagonized the *Edinburgh Review.* It charged that Oxford Catholicism produced bitter controversies over trifles like the use of the surplice and of wax candles. More fundamentally, the journal accused the Tractarians of reviving the Roman conception of the sacraments. In denouncing their sacramental notions, the review relied on customary Protestant arguments. The spirit of the Gospel and the evidence of the senses, it stated, were offended by the Tractarian rites. All logic was defined when baptism was wasted on infants. If the sacrament effected regeneration, why not postpone it until late in life and remove the terrible doubt of salvation? Decency was outraged when burial

[49] "Puseyism," *E. R.,* LXXVII (April, 1843), 528.
[50] *Ibid.,* pp. 513-514.
[51] *Ibid.,* pp. 511-518.

rites were denied to those who neglected to fulfill to the letter the forms of Tractarian baptism. Similar objections could be raised against other sacraments, the review assured its readers. But enough had been said to demonstrate that vague, anti-social, irrational sacramental mysteries were unacceptable.[52]

Having confuted to its satisfaction the major tenets of Puseyism, there was little for the *Edinburgh Review* to do but sit back and await the impending collapse of the Oxford Movement. It perceived already the signs of disintegration. The one, visible Church of the Tractarians was no closer to reality than ever. With Catholics and Protestants still hostile, "It would sadly perplex any ordinary understanding to comprehend how many communities can be one, which are not only hostile, but mutually excommunicate."[53] In the face of this failure, the Puseyites were growing more vain and intolerant, the *Edinburgh Review* continued. They now denied credentials as ministers of Christ to the entire Nonconformist clergy of England. They no longer distinguished in their reckless condemnation between those who refused to obey Christ's commands and those who disagreed on what His commands were. Their educational system was falling apart too, as a result of their determination to block all avenues of understanding except the Bible and Church tradition. Every effort to increase the activities of the natural sciences, history, and the liberal arts met with their resistance. They neglected knowledge for obedience, investigation for blind adoration.[54] Jubilantly, the *Edinburgh Review* predicted that the movement would soon end in "a vigorous reaction which will give the doctrines and principles of the Reformation a revived hold on the public mind and the Biblical and Protestant elements in the English Church their legitimate expansion."[55]

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 511-523; "Recent Developments," *E. R.*, LXXX (October, 1844), 369.

[53] "Puseyism," *E. R.*, LXXVII (April, 1843), 524.

[54] "Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Fifth of November," *E. R.*, LXVI (January, 1838), 404-405, 415; "The Late Dr. Arnold," *E. R.*, LXXVI (January, 1843), 375-377. Maisie Ward, *Young Mr. Newman* (New York, 1948), p. 115, explains charges of vanity and intolerance made against the Puseyites: "For the Liberal the only fundamental was personal liberty—for the Tractarian the question at issue was what God had said and what God had meant. Safeguarding this divine Word they grew fierce—and the Liberals realised so little what the fierceness was about that they took it as personal: as the result of pique, annoyance or sheer personal prejudice."

[55] "Recent Developments," *E. R.*, LXXX (October, 1844), 374-375.

The repudiation of Puseyism which the *Edinburgh Review* had begun on religious grounds was completed by the *Westminster Review* on philosophical grounds. Relatively intent on its own utilitarian mission, the *Westminster Review* had devoted little space to the Tractarians. Not until 1850 did their theology come under its scrutiny, and then the magazine's reaction was entirely predictable in the light of the well known anti-Catholic, secularistic bias of the utilitarian school. Most of the review's statements rehearsed familiar refrains. The Oxford Movement was foreign to the spirit of the times, the magazine argued. The Tractarians were antiquarians who deserted rather than solved modern problems. They were characterized by "learned selfishness and aristocratic apathy." Their concept of an authoritarian Church was Romanist, formalist, and illogical.[56] Attacking their principle of reserve in communicating religious truth, their sacerdotal system, and their reliance on the fathers, the review alleged that they had substituted a gospel of fear and mystery for the gospel of love and understanding. They had constructed a religion of manuscripts and mysticism in which the laity were given neither function nor emotional satisfaction.[57]

Primarily, however, the *Westminster Review* interpreted the Oxford Movement as an anti-Erastian reaction, a search for a theology which could sustain the Church as a supernatural corporation free from the control of any secular agency. The Tractarians wished to reap the temporal benefits of an Establishment in which one party was "an independent, self-governing, immutable body, exempt from constitutional restraints, and shielded from those changes which the progress of knowledge and the vicissitudes of thought introduce everywhere else."[58] Such a Church, thought the review, could never be accepted by the people or by the State. The people would not accept it because it was hostile to their liberty, foreign to their genius, and contrary to their diverse religious beliefs. The State must reject it because it would mean political servility.[59] The *Westminster Review* hastened to describe the type of Church which would be acceptable. In its Establishment, the State would have the power to decide on

[56] "Early Christianity, Its Creed and Heresies," *Westminster Review*, LIX (April, 1853), 564-565; hereafter this magazine is cited as *W. R.*

[57] "The Church of England," *W. R.*, LIII (April, 1850), 96, 101-102; "Early Christianity," *W. R.*, LIX (April, 1853), 564-565.

[58] "Church of England," *W. R.*, LIII (April, 1850), 95.

[59] "The Battle of the Churches," *W. R.*, LIV (January, 1851), 234.

theological questions. Not being theologians, the politicians would employ one criterion in defining doctrine, public opinion, and desire one object, moral efficiency. Such a Church would permit the utmost latitude of opinion. It would bring doctrinal beliefs up to date with philosophic and scientific advances. And it would place its faith in the laity rather than the clergy.[60] In contrast to an Establishment isolated from society and intellectually stagnant, the utilitarian journal looked for its lay-centered Church to win new laurels for progressive religion: "English orthodoxy has always been found on the side of resistance. . . . It is to our laity, and to that part especially which has little ostensible religious character, that every victory over bigoted intolerance is due."[61]

The attitude of the *Westminster Review* toward the Oxford Movement was a good measure of the distance between philosophical radicalism and religious reaction in the Reform Age. Equally notable, the review centered its discussion around the problem of Church-State relations. This was chiefly a political question, but the utilitarian magazine's concentration upon the political rather than the spiritual importance of the Oxford Movement was typical. All of the British periodicals tended to share with the *Westminster Review* a concern for the secular implications of Tractarian thought. By contrast, nowhere in the journals was the customary version of the Oxford Movement reflected extensively. Usually, the movement has been presented by Catholic historians as a vehicle for the career of Cardinal Newman, and by Protestant writers as the story of spiritual rebirth within the Anglican Church. Viewed internally, as Tractarians saw themselves and as their Anglican brethren responded to Puseyism, the traditional picture is valid and valuable. The spiritual odyssey of a famous churchman and the revitalization of a great institution are matters of considerable historical moment. But study of the British magazines suggests that this approach to the Oxford Movement is too limited. Viewed externally, as political and intellectual factions saw the Tractarians, it was the political implications of their theology which

[60] "Church of England," *W. R.*, LIII (April, 1850), 89, 93, 113-114. The contrast with Tractarian opinion is marked here. Thus Newman, *Apologia*, p. 296, condemns the proposition that: "The Civil Power has the right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and administration. Therefore, e. g. Parliament may impose articles of faith on the Church . . . ."

[61] "The Religious Weakness of Protestantism," *W. R.*, LXIX (January, 1858), 75.

seemed paramount. Certainly, many individual members of these factions must have had strong spiritual feelings about Puseyism. Personally they may have cared little about its practical effects. But their personal emotions were not the concern of the group to which they belonged. To the organized faction as such, the impact of Tractarian thought on the status and political fortunes of the party was the dominant interest.

The Tories disagreed on the merits of Puseyism as a support for their position. The *Quarterly Review* used the Catholic elements in the Oxford Movement to entrench themselves behind the wall of clerical authority and to encourage respect for their leadership in local government. On the other hand, *Blackwood's* attached so much significance to the temporalities of the Church that it lost sight of the spiritual strength which Tractarian ideology offered to its cause. *Blackwood's* believed that in defending Church property it had fastened upon the heart of the matter. Any defense which ignored the economic question seemed foolish if not dangerous. To its consequently obscured vision, the Tractarians were childish men who had deceived themselves into thinking that they were restoring the purity of the Church. The magazine advised its readers to "leave those pompous triflers to their obscure squabbles; and add something manly, honest, and rational to the national defense of Christianity."[62]

By concentrating on Tractarian theology, the *Edinburgh Review* departed, to some extent, from the usual practice among the journals. Yet the difference was one of degree, not kind. At bottom, the Whig journal too was interested in the political aspects of the Oxford Movement. Its Tractarian studies, however, were not focused on politics directly, but were oriented toward the philosophical bases of political disputes. It was this theoretical approach to political realities which made the Whig articles the most penetrating description of the Oxford Movement. The *Edinburgh Review,* in its disdain for Romanism, its staunch support of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and its demolition of the anti-Erastian concept, spoke for the Reform Age. Its dismissal of religious conservatism typified the optimistic, progressive temper of the times. Nevertheless, the journal had been forced to contend strenuously with this conservative spirit. By raising a serious challenge, the Tractarians had caused the Whigs to think about the first principles upon which they were providing

[62] "The World We Live In," *Blackwood's,* XLIII (January, 1838), 80.

leadership to England. As an intellectual stimulus to the often torpid politician, the Oxford Movement was, therefore, a success. It did not materially alter England's political development, but it did require that the liberal statesmen, taking Newman's advice, "Should strive afresh against their foe, Should strive and should prevail."[63]

Mount Saint Mary's College
Emmitsburg

[63] John Henry Newman, "The Dream of Gerontius," in *Verses on Various Occasions* (London, 1903), p. 363.

DARWINISM, EVOLUTION, AND AMERICAN CATHOLIC THOUGHT, 1860-1900

By

John Rickards Betts*

The generation which grew to intellectual maturity in the wake of Darwinism lived through the rise of industrial capitalism, the ascendancy of the great middle class, the impact of urbanization, the emergence of new national states, and the imperialistic expansion of Europe. It was interested in technological development, education, humanitarian reform, the carrying of Christianity to the heathen, the acquisition of wealth and social prestige, the refinements of Victorian society and culture, and the popularization of sport and recreation, among a host of other distractions. Broadening interest in scientific discoveries and in their religious and philosophical implications was to provide a public forum for the controversies which were the inevitable product of an age dedicated to the advance of physics, astronomy, chemistry, geology, archeology, paleontology, and biology.

For those interested in matters of the mind, the central issue in the "conflict" of science and religion was the Darwinian theory of natural selection, transmutation, and survival of the fittest. Darwinism, originally confined to the plant and animal kingdom, gradually became involved in the whole philosophical discussion of the general evolutionary theories of development of the cosmos, the solar system, the earth, and even of cultures, societies, and institutions.

Protestants of Calvinist, Lutheran or more evangelical persuasion saw the threat to religious orthodoxy. Recognizing the dangers of the more rationalistic and materialistic forms of science, they rebuffed and long resisted the theory of evolution, meeting it with a withering fire of denunciation and vilification. Liberal Protestants, led by a Henry Ward Beecher or a Lyman Abbott, were to do much in silencing the guns of theologians and scientists who so rashly put on their armor and answered the call of battle. Science, historical criticism, and the comparative method seemed to be invincible weapons in assaulting the claims of the Roman Catholic Church, and many among the hosts

* Mr. Betts is associate professor of history in Boston College.

of Protestantism made an early peace with the armies of science.[1] Catholic churchmen, theologians, and lay editors and writers, though more directly concerned with the secularized liberalism sweeping over Europe, could not remain immune to the implications of the revolutionary scientific discoveries and theories of the time.[2]

Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 touched off a scientific and religious controversy in England, Germany, and France. Transmutation through an organism's gradual adaptation to environment made it seemingly possible, if naturalists but completed their collections, to trace life back to the earliest cellular development in the sea. Naturalists, however, had been raised on the classifications of Linnaeus, Cuvier, and Louis Agassiz and vigorously repudiated the theory for a time. The Bible was appealed to for the permanence of species, and the principle of the survival of the fittest offended those of deeply religious and humanitarian inclinations. American scientists, among them Agassiz, Asa Gray, and Chauncey Wright, charged into the fray, but the Civil War retarded the development of an American intellectual controversy. In 1863 Thomas Huxley published *Man's Place in Nature,* in which the gap between the apes and man was minimized. Carl Vogt in Germany also set out to demonstrate man's descent from the animal kingdom, and the literature began to compound itself.[3]

[1] Religious aspects of the Darwinian controversy have been slighted by American historians. For the general reception in the United States we are particularly indebted to Bert James Loewenberg for "The Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *American Historical Review,* XXXVIII (July, 1933), 687-701; "The Controversy over Evolution in New England, 1859-1873," *New England Quarterly,* VIII (June, 1935), 232-257; "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXVIII (December, 1941), 339-368. Among the works reflecting the far-reaching impact of the theory on American thought, cf. Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism;* Philip P. Wiener, *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism;* Stow Persons, ed., *Evolutionary Thought in America;* Sidney Fine, *Laissez-Faire and the General-Welfare State. A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865-1901;* Stow Persons, *American Minds;* Benjamin Twiss, *Lawyers and the Constitution;* Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds.*

[2] American Catholic thought was necessarily colored by the interests and aspirations of the millions who were striving to establish homes and fashion careers in labor, business, and politics. Concerned with the life of the parish, the establishment of schools, and the practical needs of the family, only the unusual, scientifically-minded Catholic found the time or opportunity to think out and publish his views on evolution.

[3] The *Origin of Species* merely hinted at man's organic descent. In 1860

The *Civiltà Cattolica,* the Jesuits' Roman Journal, had denied that embryonic growth was identical in man with the stages of lower animals. Reprinting this essay was but an early exploratory sally into the evolutionary fray in 1865, however, and Catholic journalists in general confined themselves to criticism of rationalistic science and to the harmony of science with religion. Only in the late 1860's did the clergy become deeply alarmed and commence a counter-attack which soon turned into the sharpest intellectual controversy of post-Civil War America.[4]

When, however, Darwin threw caution to the winds in 1871 and presented the theory of animal origins in the *Descent of Man,* the lines of combat were formed.[5] St. George Mivart, the leading British

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Huxley commenced lecturing on the relation of man to the lower animals. British scientists meeting at Oxford discussed the theme; in 1862 Sir W. Flower publicly demonstrated "the existence in the apes of those cerebral characters which had been said to be peculiar to man." Thomas Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature* (New York, 1893 ed.), p. ix. Others who investigated man's origins at this time were G. Rolleston, Friedrich Rolle, Gustav Jaeger, and Ernst Haeckel. Sir Charles Lyell leaned toward the acceptance of man's physical evolution in *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (London, 1863), pp. 471-506, wherein he narrated the early discussions of classification of man, including those of Geoffroy St. Hilaire's *Histoire naturale* (Paris, 1856). Cerebral anatomists of the 1850's like Owen and Gratiolet had argued over the similarities of the human and the simian brain. Lyell commented in 1863: "The number of original and important memoirs to which this discussion on the cerebral relations of Man to the Primates has already given rise in less than five years, must render the controversy for ever memorable in the history of Comparative Anatomy." *Ibid.,* pp. 480-486, 487.

[4] Differences among scientists, of course, were manifested almost immediately, Asa Gray and Chauncey Wright opposing Louis Agassiz at an American Academy discussion. Simon Newcomb, *The Reminiscences of an Astronomer* (Boston, 1903), pp. 70-71. Cf. the *Civiltà Cattolica* article "On the Unity of Type in the Animal Kingdom," translated in *Catholic World,* I (April, 1865), 71-76; *Brownson's Quarterly Review* [New York Series], IV (January, 1859), 16-37; *Catholic World,* VII (May, 1868), 155-174.

[5] The English intellectual controversy has been developed by William Irvine, *Apes, Angels, and Victorians; The Story of Darwin, Huxley, and Evolution* (New York, 1955); also cf. J. M. Robertson, *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century,* 2 vols. (London, 1929). Although the scientific debate may best be read in the published letters of Darwin, Huxley, Gray, Fiske and others, mention should be made of Philip G. Fothergill, *Historical Aspects of Organic Evolution* (London, 1952); Loren Eiseley, *Darwin's Century. Evolution and the Men Who Discovered It* (New York, 1958); Herbert Wendt, *In Search of Adam* (Cambridge, 1956); and, especially Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York, 1941), pp. 108-141.

Catholic zoologist, had published his own *Genesis of Species* just prior to the appearance of the *Descent of Man*.[6] Affronted by Mivart's seeming unfairness toward his theory, Darwin was, nonetheless, "extremely pleased that he agrees with my position, as far as animal nature is concerned, of man in the series. . . ."[7] But estrangement increased as Mivart publicly attacked Darwin's theory while privately expressing his respect.[8] Bewildered by Mivart's personal expressions of friendship and public attacks, Darwin was soon conjecturing that "accursed religious bigotry" was at the root of Mivart's criticism and he was happy to find that the young American philosopher, John Fiske, and other critics had detected "the falseness of much of Mr. Mivart's reasoning."[9] John Henry Newman, on the other hand, was in frequent correspondence with the Catholic zoologist, read his works, advised him to unite theistic with naturalistic theories, and sympathized with his attempt to demonstrate the insufficiency of natural selection as the mechanism of evolution. A few years later Newman wrote a friend, "I see nothing in the theory of evolution inconsistent with an Almighty God and Protector."[10]

English and American Catholics were alerted to the dangers of Darwin's seemingly designless evolutionism, faulty logic, and superficial metaphysics.[11] The *Tablet* of London welcomed the *Genesis of Species* as a defense against the "materialistic theories of the age."[12]

[6] St. George Mivart, *On the Genesis of Species* (London, 1871). The harmony of the general theory with Christianity was expounded. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-289. The year 1871 also saw the publication of Sir Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, and a new edition of Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*.

[7] Charles Darwin to Alfred Russell Wallace, January 30, 1871, in Francis Darwin (Ed.), *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 3 vols. (London, 1887), III, 135.

[8] Darwin to Wallace, July 9, 12, 1871, *ibid.*, III, 144, 146-148; Darwin to Ernst Haeckel, December 27, 1871, in Francis Darwin (Ed.), *More Letters of Charles Darwin* (New York, 1903), p. 335. Darwin set out in a new edition of the *Origin* to refute Mivart's contention that there was no conflict between evolution and religion and that Church authorities agreed to derivative creation. Huxley had looked through the works of Suarez and argued that the renowned theologian refuted his layman co-religionist on two counts.

[9] Darwin to J. D. Hooker, September 16, 1871, *ibid.*, I, 332-333; Darwin to John Fiske, November 9, 1871, *ibid.*, I, 334.

[10] A. Dwight Culler, *The Imperial Intellect. A Study of Newman's Educational Ideal* (New Haven, 1955), p. 267.

[11] *The Tablet*, February 25, April 15, 1871; *Catholic World*, XVII (August, 1873), 641-655.

[12] *The Tablet*, February 25, 1871.

The *Dublin Review* sought to clarify the confusing status of the theory:

> The position of Faith, then, with regard to theories of evolution appears to be this. It is not contrary to Faith to suppose that all living things, up to man exclusively, were evolved by natural law out of minute life—germs primarily created, or even out of inorganic matter. On the other hand, it is heretical to deny the separate and special creation of the human soul; and to question the immediate and instantaneous (or quasi-instantaneous) formation by God of the bodies of Adam and Eve—the former out of inorganic matter, the latter out of the rib of Adam—is, at least, rash, and, perhaps, proximate to heresy.[13]

It was only occasionally that the American Catholic press picked up the evolutionary theme, but when it did so it was to wield the shillelah with a vengeance. Mivart's theory of animal descent was attacked by Catholics both here and abroad. Editors did at times rely on the author's status in the field of zoology and his recognition of the supernatural creation of the soul, but they were cautious. The Louisville *Catholic Advocate,* hostile to the "infidel and materialistic theories" of Darwin and Huxley, claimed the theory taught that "man, having first been a tadpole, became a monkey and then wore off his tail by sedentary habits."[14] Priests who read the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1873 were informed that man's pedigree was the burning question of the day.[15] In a scholarly presentation, and with generous recognition of Darwin's sincere search for truth, it concluded that his theory reduced "the order of harmony of Nature to the results of blind fortuitous forces. . . ." Drawing upon the illustrious Agassiz, the Irish journal agreed with his verdict: "The Transmutation theory is a scientific mistake, untrue in its facts, unscientific in its methods, and mischievous in its tendency."[16]

Orestes Brownson became a violent foe of materialistic science[17] and anger was to lead him to contend that Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin,

[13] *Dublin Review,* XVII (July, 1871), 38.

[14] *Catholic Advocate* (Louisville), January 28, 1871, quoted in *The Index,* Supplement, April 13, 1872.

[15] *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* IX (May, 1873), 337-361.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] In July, 1863, he had published "Science and the Sciences" in *Brownson's Quarterly Review.* Although Brownson admitted he did not keep up with scientific literature, he was aware of its significance and accepted the challenge. "If we neglect modern civilization, what right have we to stand and declaim against

Lubbock, Spencer, and the elderly Lyell were "enemies of both religion and science."[18] Laying down the gauntlet, the controversial Brownson confronted unchristian scientists thus: "Their hypothesis of progress, evolution, or development is unquestionably repugnant to the whole Christian doctrine and order of thought. If it is true, Christianity is false." Man and the universe were acts of creation by God. "The first man," he argued, "was not a monkey or a tadpole developed, nor a savage or barbarian, but was a man full grown in the integrity of his nature, instructed by his Maker. . . ." Adam's fall, rather than the emergence of tribes out of barbarism, determined the descent of modern man.[19] When the first American edition of Cardinal Wiseman's *Connection Between Science and Revealed Religion* came out in 1872, the redoubtable ex-Transcendentalist contended, "The history of the human race on this globe is a history of deterioration rather than of progress."[20] Absence of evidence of any signs of new species by natural selection disproved the theory:

> But from the point of view of morals, or tried by rigidly ethical standard, such scientists as Darwin, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, Taine, Buchner, Professor Huxley, Herbert Spencer, and others of the same genius, who publish opinions, theories, hypotheses, which are at best only plausible conjectures under the imposing name of science, and which unsettle men's minds, bewilder the half-learned, mislead the ignorant, undermine the very bases of society, and assail the whole moral order of the universe, are fearfully guilty, and a thousand times more dangerous to society and greater criminals even than your most noted thieves, robbers, burglars, swindlers, murderers, or midnight assassins. Instead of being held in honor, fêted, and lauded as the great men of their age and country, and held up as benefactors of their race, they richly deserve that public

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it as heretical or infidel? If we denounce science, or refuse to cultivate it, what right have we to complain that it becomes our enemy instead of our friend and ally?" Cf. "Faith and the Sciences," in Henry F. Brownson (Ed.), *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson,* 20 vols. (Detroit, 1884), IX, 260, 270. Also cf. "Physical Basis of Life" and "Spiritualism and Materialism," July and August, 1869; "Primeval Man," September, 1869; his assault on Francis Galton's claims in "Hereditary Genius," September, 1870; a refutation of Sir John Lubbock in "Origin of Civilization," July, 1871; "Herbert Spencer's Biology," June, 1866; "The Cosmic Philosophy," February, 1872. Published in *Catholic World,* collected in *Works,* IX, 254 ff.

[18] Brownson, "The Primeval Man Not a Savage," *Works,* IX, 482-483.

[19] *Works,* IX, 421-422.

[20] *Brownson's Quarterly Review* [Last Series], I (April, 1873), 221.

opinion should brand them with infamy as the enemies of God and man, of religion and society, of truth and justice, of science and civilization.[21]

Brownson contended that both Mivart and the *Catholic World* were in error in citing St. Thomas Aquinas on derivative creation and Suarez on the freedom of Catholics to uphold evolution.[22] He vigorously maintained the Church's power to delimit the domain of science.[23] He lectured the Catholic scientist: "The Spencerian doctrine of evolution, he knows beforehand is false, for it contradicts the dogma of creation; he rejects the Darwinian theory as to the origin of species, for it contradicts the revealed truth, that God creates all creatures after their kind; he rejects, also, the modern doctrine of progress as unscientific, and unchristian, for it denies the whole teleological order."[24]

The philosopher and theologian in Brownson triumphed over the scientist. From Democritus and Epicurus to such "miserable charlatans" as Darwin and Huxley, scientists had fallen into "the greatest absurdities. . . . Induction never gives us principles, which always precede the facts, produce, underlie, and control them." [25] In this, his last published article, the venerable journalist who had spent a lifetime fighting for great causes sent forth lightning bolts in defense of the faith as he saw it:

> The greatest absurdity into which men can fall is that of our modern scientists who imagine that there can be science without theology, and who affect to treat theology as no science at all, but a vain imagination, or the product of a superstitious fancy. The Scholastics understood the matter when they treated theology as "the Queen of the Sciences." The feebleness, superficiality and conceitedness of the modern sciences are unquestionably due to the very general neglect in our day of the study of

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[21] Review of *Origin* and *Descent* in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* [Last Series], I (July, 1873), 340-352.

[22] "True and False Science," *ibid.*, pp. 391 ff. A Catholic, the fiery apologist argued, was not free "to hold any opinion that he finds emitted by some father or theologian, or authorized by the principle some father has asserted, although an isolated opinion, never accepted by the church, for which no *consensus theologorum* can be pleaded, and which has no *ratio theologica* to support it." *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[23] "Religion and Science," *ibid.*, II (April, 1874), 194.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] "Philosophy of the Supernatural," *American Catholic Quarterly Review* (January, 1876), reprinted in *Works*, II, 277.

theology. By that neglect men have lost the key to the sciences, become weak in understanding, puffed up with a foolish pride, and nearly as stupid as the brute beasts from which they imagine they have been evolved.[26]

At the time that the *Catholic World* began to expound on science, the higher criticism, and religion its editor, Father Isaac Hecker, was ill and preparing to go to Europe. Catholics might accept the theory, except for the materialistic origin of the soul, though the journal did not do so: "The teaching of Darwinism as to the origin of man's body is probably next to heretical. At all events, the only safe opinion is that it was not evolved from the body of a lower being, but was directly and quasi-instantaneously created by God."[27]

By the mid-1870's the controvesy had aroused thinking men throughout the western world. Whereas the pre-Darwinian visions of an evolutionary process held by Kant, Lamarck, Goethe, Erasmus Darwin, and Robert Chambers had not taken deep root in the public mind, the array of evidence of Charles Darwin's studies, the popularization of evolution by Huxley, the animated discussion of French savants, the split between the disciples of Haeckel and Rudolph Virchow in Germany, the triumph of transmutation among scientists soon after Agassiz's death, and the advocacy of Darwinism by lecturers like John Fiske and E. L. Youmans made evolution the question of the hour. Popular thought was less susceptible to conversion, and many clergymen took up arms in defense of the Book of Genesis and the Christian interpretation of man. Relying on morphology, comparative anatomy, embryology, and paleontology, Haeckel poured oil on the flames with his monistic philosophizing and his *Evolution of Man*.[28]

Catholics, when aroused from their apathy, provoked by the insolence of superficial scientists or prodded by an overly zealous determination to defend the Church, spoke out vigorously on the origins of man. Speech, morality, and religion, noted one speaker at Mount

[26] *Ibid.*, II, 282.

[27] *Catholic World*, XVII (May, 1873), 146, 154.

[28] Contemporary enthusiasts liked to claim that natural selection had been adopted almost universally by competent scientists, but authorities in natural history were often cautious, the French were somewhat skeptical, and scientifically-minded intellectuals had reservations. Cf., e.g., Frederick Albert Lange, *The History of Materialism*, trans. by Ernest Chester Thomas (New York, 1950 ed.).

Saint Mary's College, "are man's peculiar and exclusive gifts. . . ."[29] True, scientists were needed, but they should pause at enunciating "flippant theories and flimsy speculations."[30] George Wolff, convert editor, expounded in 1876 on "modern Physicists and the Origin of Man." Critical of the theory of protoplasmic origins, of the inductive method, and of non-theistic scientists, he applauded the contention of Father Augustus Thébaud, former Fordham president, that the geological record was against evolution.[31] More conciliatory was Father A. M. Kirch who reviewed Huxley's lectures in New York.[32] The famous agnostic was called a great naturalist and the general theory of evolution was not contradictory of Catholicism, although men were forced to reject it on scientific as well as religious grounds.[33]

The *Catholic World* of the late 1870's showed little sympathy for Darwinism. Man's origins were more a philosophical, psychological, and theological than a physiological problem. Transmutation was rejected as readily as the similarity of body structure.[34] Citing Dr. Constantin James' *Du Darwinisme* and J. Stores Smith's address to the Manchester Academia of the Catholic Religion, the *Catholic World* flouted journals like *Nature* and the *Popular Science Monthly*, claimed that most of the scientific world rejected the theory, and abused Darwin. When he was finally to be "summoned before the God he had insulted," he would be brought to account for abuse of his talents and disregard of truth: "Then the *Descent of Man* will soon be a thing of the past; and those who now sing its praises in all tunes, and feign such an enthusiastic conviction of its coming triumph, will become the laughing stock of cultivated society, unless they put a timely end to their 'scientific' jugglery."[35]

Although Catholic divines had always admitted changes within a species, they still rejected transmutation, and "the hypothesis of the origin of animal forms by evolution is simply unthinkable. . . ."[36]

[29] *Catholic Journal* (Pittsburgh) report of speech at Emmetsburg, Maryland, in June, 1875 (o.u.).

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, I (January, 1876), 126-148. Wolff was a convert to Catholicism in 1871. Proponents of inductive reasoning "make of man himself a mere clod of earth." *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[32] A. M. Kirch, C.S.C., "Prof. Huxley on Evolution," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, II (October, 1877), 644-664.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Catholic World*, XXVI (January, 1878), 496-511.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 507-510.

[36] *Ibid.*, XXV (April, 1877), 90, 100.

John William Draper, an old critic of Catholicism, lectured to a group of Unitarian ministers in Springfield, Massachusetts, and the *Catholic World* struck back with a scorching tirade, claiming only professors of unbelief and simpletons accepted the theory: "The failure of Darwinism is as conspicuous and as complete in America as it has been in Europe."[37] Similarly hostile was the *Catholic Standard*. When Darwin received a 12,000 lire award from the Academy of Sciences at Turin, Wolff's Philadelphia paper professed dismay at such a gesture toward the man who had "discovered that Italian Academicians, as well as other folk, were descended from monkeys."[38] Italian scientists like Canestrini and Ottolenghi, however, were in the forefront in studying vestigial structures, atavistic characters, and other aspects of biological evolution.[39]

The evolutionary climate was changing in the late 1870's and early 1880's. Discoveries of fossils, publication of biological treatises, and lectures by scientists and popularizers of Darwinism won an ever wider audience. Liberal Protestants like O. H. Frothingham, Henry Ward Beecher, and Lyman Abbott stood out as protagonists, and some Catholics discarded a previous aversion to the theory. In Buffalo the *Catholic Union* claimed that Catholic theologians anticipated Darwin "by several centuries in teaching all that is true in evolution."[40] W. R. Thompson recognized the general acceptance of evolution. True, the literature was not popular: "The majority of people are either too busy or too intellectually indolent to take the trouble to inform themselves of the merits of this question." "Evolution, if rightly understood," he continued, "has no theological or antitheological influence whatever. . . . It leaves the whole field of Christian faith where and as it found it. Its believers and advocates may be theists, pantheists, or atheists."[41] In the 1880's evolution was discussed frequently in the *Catholic World* which, for all its caution, carried the banners of Catholic scientific criticism and thought.[42]

[37] *Ibid.*, XXVI (March, 1878), 782-783.

[38] *Catholic Standard*, February 7, 1880.

[39] M. F. Ashley Montagu, "The Biologist Looks at Crime," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXVII (September, 1941), 48-49. Lombroso the criminologist attained maturity in the age of Darwinism.

[40] Editorial, *Catholic Union* (Buffalo), March 5, 1879.

[41] W. R. Thompson, "Evolution," *Catholic World*, XXXIV (February, 1882), 683-692.

[42] George M. Searle, "The Supposed Issue Between Religion and Science," *Catholic World*, XXXVIII (February, 1884), 577-588; F. S. Chatard, "Darwin's

Robert Ingersoll's advocacy of Darwinism associated it with the antagonists of Catholicism. Ingersoll attacked all churches for their obstruction of science. Later recalling the shift in sentiment toward evolution, he claimed, "People were reading Darwin. His works interested not only the scientific, but the intelligent in all the walks of life. . . . The ministers greeted him with shouts of derison. . . . Poor little frightened professors in religious colleges sided with the clergy. Hundreds of backboneless 'scientists' ranged themselves with the enemies of Darwin. It began to look as though the church was victorious. Truth, however, marched on. Slowly, steadily, the ideas of Darwin gained ground. Men of genius were on his side. In a little while the really great in all departments of human thought declared in his favor. The tide began to turn."[43]

In 1884 the genial but arrogant "Great Infidel" proclaimed, "This century will be called Darwin's century. . . . Write the name of Charles Darwin on the one hand and the name of every theologian who ever lived on the other, and from that name has come more light to the world than from all of those. . . . Only a few years ago there was no person too ignorant to successfully answer Charles Darwin, and the more ignorant he was the more cheerfully he undertook the task. He was held up to the ridicule, the scorn and contempt of the Christian world, and yet when he died, England was proud to put his dust with that of her noblest and her grandest."[44]

Evolution in the middle 1880's was firmly ensconced in the center of the general conflict of rationalistic scientists, amateur skeptics, and orthodox theologians. Ingersoll maintained, "You cannot harmonize evolution and the atonement. The survival of the fittest does away with original sin." The churches, he was to maintain, "demonstrated the falsity and folly of Darwin's theories by showing that they contradicted the Mosaic account of creation, and now the theories of Darwin have been fairly established, the church says that the Mosaic account is true, because it is in harmony with Darwin."[45]

Mistake," *ibid.*, XXXIX (June, 1884), 289-300; Cornelius O'Leary, "Evolution in the Light of Recent Researches," *ibid.*, XXXIX (May, 1884), 194-201; "Darwin's Life and Letters," *ibid.*, XLVI (March, 1888), 756-761; "Scientific Freedom," *ibid.*, XLVII (May, 1888), 225-231.

[43] C. P. Farrell (Ed.), *The Works of Robert Ingersoll*, 12 vols. (New York, 1900), XI, 567-568.

[44] *Ibid.*, II, 356-357.

[45] *Ibid.*, VIII, 225.

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Little wonder that the clergy, conservators of dogma and tradition and still unconvinced of the scientific evidence, were slow to mount the evolutionary bandwagon. Yet, the spirit of scholarship was in the air, and the relationship of science to religion had to be cultivated.[46] Archbishop John Ireland noted, "This is an intellectual age. It worships intellect. . . . The age will not take kindly to religious knowledge separated from secular knowledge. The Church must regain the sceptre of science, which, to her honor and to the benefit of the world, she wielded for ages in the past."[47] Father Isaac Hecker recognized the growing numbers of those trained in science and devoted to intellectual matters; their questions must be answered convincingly or the Church would lose its hold on the intelligent.[48]

The armies of science, however, with disturbingly large contingents of atheistic philosophers, did not easily win Catholic recruits to the evolutionary camp. Mivart was going further than anyone in contending, in effect, that Catholics might put aside ecclesiastical guidance on scientific matters, yet he was defended by the *Tablet* of London against the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record's* denial of the Catholic's right to uphold evolution.[49] Huxley admitted that the affection of fellow scientists for Darwin led "those of his friends who had seen good reason for his views to take much more trouble in his defence and support, and to strike out much harder at his adversary than they would otherwise have done."[50] But most Catholics showed little enthusiasm. Cardinal Gibbons, although recognizing that the Bible was not a scientific treatise, maintained that the fabulous figures of the

[46] A generation earlier Lord Acton had pleaded: "The one thing needful at the present day, when science has made such progress . . . is to accept it as her [the Church's] necessary and trusty ally. It became hostile to Catholicism only when they had rejected it. Nothing else can save religion from the twin dangers of unbelief and superstition. . . . The common reluctance on the part of Catholics to consent to the results of science indicates as much a defeat of faith as of knowledge." Lord Acton, *Essays on Church and State* (London, 1952), edited by Douglas Woodruff, p. 273.

[47] John Ireland, "The Mission of Catholics in America," *The Church and Modern Society*, 2 vols. (St. Paul, 1904), I, 92. Delivered at the centennial of the American hierarchy in Baltimore, November 10, 1889.

[48] I. T. Hecker, *The Church and the Age* (New York, 1887), p. 181.

[49] *The Tablet*, July 8, 1885. Father John S. Vaughn claimed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* that evolution had little bearing on faith and morals.

[50] Huxley to Mivart, November 12, 1885, in Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Huxley*, 2 vols. (London, 1900), II, 113.

age of man had been refuted.[51] He freely noted that Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall, as well as Goethe, Schiller, Emerson, and Pasteur did not deny a Supreme Being, but he balked at the drift of thought on the common origin of man: "Darwin, Huxley, and Haeckel are the standard-bearers of the modern school of evolutionists. According to their theory, you and I must claim as our primeval father the ape, the monkey, or the gorilla." This loose and facetious description of Darwin's theory represented the unsympathetic view of a great churchman and champion of freedom who was interested in the intellectual problems of the age. He denied any authenticated proof of a single instance of transmutation of species and observed, "I am asked to accept an unproven and disproven theory that will soon be forgotten to give place to some other phantom of a fertile brain."[52]

Catholics of the 1880's were subjected to abuse and caricature on many social, intellectual, and scientific issues, and Catholic journalists answered in kind.[53] The New York *Evening Telegram*, e.g., printed a caricature of an Irish servant girl "with the mouth of a baboon and horns upon her."[54] The spirit of the age was often found to be a demoralizing one, but resentment against its journalistic misuse could not impede the advance of the evolution theory.

Father Martin Brennan, professor of science at Kenrick Seminary in St. Louis and member of the Astronomical Society of London, avoided any conflict of geology with Genesis and praised Catholic anatomists and physiologists like Vesalius, Fallopius, Eustachius, Fabricius of Acquapendente, Spallanzani, Malpighi, Redi, Paré, Johannes Müller, and Claude Bernard.[55] The series of lectures of Thomas Hughes, S.J., of St. Louis University to the Detroit College Alumni Association in 1888 recognized the pervasive influence of naturalism and materialism in science, law, business, morals, and

[51] James Cardinal Gibbons, "Christianity and Modern Science," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XIII (January, 1888), 1-11.

[52] James Cardinal Gibbons, *Our Christian Heritage* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 37-38, 281-283, 298.

[53] Cf. the files of *Puck, Judge,* and the *New York Graphic* for cartoons ridiculing the Church in its position on the school question, organized labor, the McGlynn-George controversy, and modern science. In the tradition of Thomas Nast they pictured Irish labor leaders, politicians, and athletes as not too dissimilar to popular impressions of the missing link.

[54] *Catholic News* (New York), December 15, 1886.

[55] Martin S. Brennan, *What Catholics Have Done For Science* (New York, 1887, ed.), pp. 168-171, 180.

literature. Hughes gave a philosophical critique of Darwin's methodology, stressed the inadequacies of natural selection, and rejected connection with the apes; but he detected signs of progression in nature "beginning in the simple sea-plant or lower forms of animals, and ending in man. . . ."[56]

Hybridization and fertile cross-breeding, claimed William Seton, was viewed by eminent naturalists as a quick way to achieving new forms: "When the conditions of life change, the changes will effect a selection among the animals exposed to them and thus bring about, in the long course of ages, the transformation of one species into another."[57] On the threshold of the last decade Rev. John S. Vaughn might well conclude, "No theory in modern times has caused so widespread an interest, or excited such universal attention, as the theory of evolution. No theory has been so warmly advocated by its partisans, or so violently assailed by its enemies."[58]

Catholic journals of the 1890's reflected the growing resistance to natural selection as the major key to development and transmutation. In France Darwinism had been received with reservations. Germans continued arguing over the monistic philosophy of Ernst Haeckel, and materialistic evolutionists followed Haeckel, Carl Vogt, Karl Buchner, Oscar Schmidt, and Paul Bert. But the American popular mind, when directed to intellectual, scientific, and religious matters, centered on discussions of more general nature. Seminaries, bound to traditional instruction, were unable to keep up with the breathless pace of evolutionary thought, since they were training priests to become pastors of flocks with little interest in Darwinism.[59] As schools and

[56] Thomas Hughes, S.J., *Principles of Anthropology and Biology* (New York, 1890), pp. 90 ff., 102-105, 170, 174-175. Father Hughes continued to assert the imperfection of the biological record and the doubts about evolution, citing in 1893 the 1889 address by Rudolph Virchow to the Anthropological Association of Germany and Austria, yet noting the apparent simian origins of man as held by Paul Topinard in his address to the School of Anthropology at Paris. "Anthropology and Biology in the Last Five Years," *Catholic Reading Circle Review*, IV (December, 1893), 129-132.

[57] William Seton, "Kingship of Species in the Animal Kingdom," *Catholic World*, LI (May, 1890), 243.

[58] John S. Vaughn, "The Evolutionary Theory as Applied to Science," *Catholic World*, LI (April, 1890), 64-75.

[59] Francis Clement Kelley, *The Bishop Jots It Down* (New York, 1939), pp. 79-80. Bishop Kelley pictured French-Canadian seminaries, but he claimed American seminaries were similar. Darwin was sometimes mentioned, but there

colleges introduced practical courses in physics, geology, chemistry and biology, more churchmen became interested in the entire range of science. As biblical criticism and modernism increasingly captured the popular imagination, as archaeology, anthropology, and comparative religion unfolded the antiquity of man, as astronomy probed ever more deeply into the ageless cosmos, and as philosophy faced the deepening mystery of creation, the Darwinian theory was less obviously repugnant to Christian faith.

Receptivity of the evolutionary theory in Catholic circles was more varied than ever as the last decade got under way. The Right Reverend Januario de Concilio's *Harmony Between Science and Revelation* discussed evolution, the nebular hypothesis, geology, and human history.[60] The *American Ecclesiastical Review,* edited by Father Herman J. Heuser, published serially the articles on "Clerical Studies" by the Sulpician, John B. Hogan, of St. John's Seminary in Boston. Recognizing the fulfillment of Huxley's earlier pleas for more science in the curriculum, Hogan proclaimed the Church as the conservator of science. "So long as the Natural Sciences are part of a liberal education, they have to hold their place among Clerical Studies. . . . Each one of them brings with a fresh, untouched treasure of truth, and becomes a new and wonderful revelation of the world to man."[61]

So confused was the status of the theory that the aging Paulist, Augustine Francis Hewit, declared it a difficult thing on which to generalize. He considered it devoid of theological implications and a matter of "purely scientific and philosophic investigation."[62] Father Joseph Pohle, professor of philosophy in the Catholic University of America, however, considered Darwinism a new problem for theologians, noted the widespread refutation of Darwin, mentioned the

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was little knowledge of Haeckel, Spencer, or Huxley. In the United States, he wrote, "It was not the book but the building age." *Ibid.*

[60] Cf. the review in *Catholic World,* LII (December, 1890), 450-451.

[61] John B. Hogan, "Clerical Studies. II. The Natural Sciences," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* V (July, 1891), 2-4; *ibid.,* V (August, 1891), 118 ff. Among the priest scientists the former president of St. John's Seminary in Boston mentioned Copernicus, Gassendi, Spallanzani, Abbé Mollet, Hauy, Abbé Mariotte, and the astronomer Angelo Secchi. Jesuit missionaries and explorers over the world, and especially those who reported to the French Academy of Sciences, were cited. The Academy's first president, Picard, was a priest. *Ibid.,* V (August, 1891), 121-124.

[62] A. F. Hewit, "The Warfare of Science," *Catholic World,* LIII (June, 1891), 393-399.

sympathetic views of the Catholic Dr. C. Guttler, commended the conciliatory writings of President James McCosh of Princeton, and decided that anything but Godless evolution, even natural selection, was capable of theistic acceptance.[63] Mivart was praised by *Donahoe's Magazine*.[64] One churchman went out on a limb in stating that transmutation had been demonstrated: "Every geologist sees the gradual progress and development of the earth's formation from the dawn of light. He sees the lower order of organic life succeeded by a more perfect order, each creation showing progression and development with ever increasing kinds and species in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms, till the advent of man."[65] When Father John Gmeiner appealed to Aquinas and Suarez and criticized the strictness of scholastic orthodoxy as being proportionate to an ignorance of chemistry, he was taken to task.[66] Church doctrine on evolution was thin and mainly negative, thought a priest at St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, and the origin of man's body was not explained by the theory. Should it ever be definitely proved, however, the Church would then determine the true sense of Scripture.[67] *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* agreed with Brunetière, editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes:* "The Mosaic hypothesis of creation gives us a reply to the question, Whence we come, and the theory of evolution will never give us any."[68]

By the mid-1890's members of the Catholic Reading Circle, affiliated with the Catholic Summer School, were reading "Man's Place in

[63] J. Pohle, "Darwinism and Theism," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* VII (September, 1892), 161-176. Among the refuters and critics were Dr. P. Schanz, Father Thomas Hughes, Sir I. W. Dawson, and the University of Marburg botany professor, Dr. Albert Wigand, author of *Darwin und der Darwinismus. Ibid.,* 161.

[64] Great claims were made for the latitude of Catholic thought. "St. George Mivart," *Donahoe's Magazine,* XXIX (April, 1893), 480-481.

[65] John Thein, "The Results of Geology," *Catholic Reading Circle Review,* IV (April, 1894), 392-398.

[66] J. De Concilio, "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* VI (January, 1892), 14-28. Gmeiner's studies led him to conclude that geological evidence did not show man's presence on the North American continent for more than 2,000 years. Cf. John Gmeiner, "The Antiquity of Man in America," *Catholic Reading Circle Review,* IV (February, 1894), 267.

[67] Joseph Selinger, "The Evolution Theory Applied to Man, in the Light of the Vatican Council," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* X (June, 1894), 439-448. Selinger thought development by saltation worthy of consideration. *Ibid.,* 448.

[68] *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus,* XXX (September, 1895), 766.

Nature," which implicitly accepted man's material origins.[69] Conservative and liberal currents kept the argument whirling. The cooling of heated sentiment against evolution did not preclude sporadic thrusts here and there, and mutual distrust between scientists and theologians continued, according to Father Hogan. Although Draper could be ignored, Huxley could not. Hogan attested to the current bankruptcy of science and recommended a wait and see policy like that of the Church toward geology in previous years. A mediate kind of evolution, neither radical nor conservative, would be a legitimate subject of controversy for all. Church apologists must not commit themselves or the Church to untenable positions, as in the case of Galileo, for it was not creditable to have to retreat.[70] Readers of London's Catholic journal, *The Month,* praising the devotion to Mother Church of Volta, Galvani, Coulomb, Ampère and Röntgen, were told that Huxley, Haeckel, and Spencer were sincere but, nonetheless, real victims of materialism, misdirected education, inborn prejudice, and invincible ignorance.[71]

The implications of evolution, physical and biological, were vast. While William Poland, S.J., of St. Louis University, deplored the prevalence of novel, materialistic views in psychology and the hatred of the age for fixed principles, Dr. James J. Walsh in 1900 noted a decline of materialism in biology and cited John Haldane, Du Bois Reymond, and Alfred R. Wallace. Walsh found the physical basis of sensation and intellection still a mystery, with less certainty and confidence on the part of scientists than a decade earlier, and he prophesied that the development of physical psychology would not prove materialistic.[72] But by then the Americanism controversy and

[69] W. Leen, "Man's Place in Nature," *Catholic Reading Circle Review,* VIII (June, 1896), 188-195. Far less enthusiastic about science was Bishop Sebastian Messmer of Green Bay in his address at the Columbian Catholic Summer School in Madison, Wisconsin, July 19, 1896. *Ibid.,* VIII (August-September, 1896), 400-401. Cf. also Thomas Hughes, S.J., "Dr. [A. D.] White's Evolution: The Genesis and Structure of His Legend," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XVII (August, 1897), 184-206.

[70] John B. Hogan, S.S., "Christian Faith and Modern Science," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXII (April, 1897), 382-398.

[71] A. Cortie, "The Attitude of the Church towards Natural Science," *The Month,* XCIV (September, 1899), 282-291.

[72] William Poland, S.J., "Modern Materialism and its Methods in Psychology," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XVII (August, 1897), 148-169; James J. Walsh, "Life in Modern Biology," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXIV

the counter-attack against Modernism were under way. Father John A. Zahm's *Evolution and Dogma* was withdrawn from circulation, Mivart was in disgrace in the eyes of the Church, and well might a Lima, New York, priest at the opening of the twentieth century expound on the "rejection" of natural selection by Spencer and Huxley, on the need for criticism and scrutiny of the doctrine, and on the tattered, botched state of evolution.[73]

Foremost among the hierarchy in minimizing the conflict of religion and science were Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop John Lancaster Spalding. It was, however, to the eloquence and ability of Father John A. Zahm, C.S.C., professor of physics in the University of Notre Dame, that Catholic thought turned for enlightenment on evolution. Zahm was conservative in his early views on Darwinism. Increasingly sympathetic to Darwin, he, nonetheless, cautioned against acceptance of those tenets still in dispute among evolutionists.[74] Meetings of the International Catholic Scientific Congress in Paris in 1888 and 1891, composed of lay and clerical scholars, had freely discussed evolution, agreed that it caused no trouble for the faith of Catholics, and praised scientists studying evolution. Thousands of tracts had covered the controversy, and there had been a long line of dissenters starting with Agassiz. But "the smoke of battle" was

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(October, 1899), 124-141. Walsh considered Theodore Schwann's concern unnecessary as he regretted the effect on religious minds of his classic *Microscopical Researches Into the Accordance in Structure and Growth of Plants and Animals*, even after obtaining an *imprimatur* from the Archbishop of Malines. *Ibid.*, pp. 127 ff. James J. Walsh, "An Essay in Physiological Psychology," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XXV (July, 1900), 497-518.

[73] S. Fitzsimmons, "The Rise and Fall of Evolution by Means of Natural Selection," *ibid.*, XXVI (January, 1901), 87-107.

[74] John A. Zahm, C.S.C., "Catholic Dogma and Scientific Dogmatism," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XV (July, 1890), 434-457. Zahm later noted that many modifications of the theory had been made by Moritz Wagner, Karl Nageli, Huxley, Mivart, Wallace, Spencer, Weismann, and Edward Cope, as well as scores of others. Lingering caution is seen in his claim, "A just retribution will in a few short years expose the shallow pretensions of the Haeckels, the Vogts, the Büchners, the Strauses, the Berts, the Moleschotts, the Huxleys, the Darwins and Tyndalls who are now making so much noise and creating such a stir among their credulous worshippers." Denying the existence of any evidence of transmutation, he concluded, "Between the brute creation and man there is an impossible chasm." Zahm, *Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists* (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 19, 23, 167, 214, and *passim*. For his early opposition cf. *The Catholic Church and Modern Science* (Notre Dame, 1886), "Ave Maria" Series No. 11.

beginning to vanish.[75] Confusion reigned, Zahm thought, from false theories expressed on the rostrum and in the newspaper, school, club, drawing-room and railroad passenger car. Since Catholics were drawn into such discussions, they must be prepared. Evolution was now applied loosely to everything from the earth, solar system, and sidereal universe to the dynamo, telescope, and bicycle.[76]

The Notre Dame professor showed how the quarrel in 1830 at the French Academy between Cuvier, champion of separate species, and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire had initiated an endless controversy which did not clear the air even after Darwin's classic demonstrations. Darwinism had been called a scientific fake and a philosophy of mud, while Haeckel's monism, despite his scientific contributions, encouraged agnosticism and animus against the Church. Actually, the priest claimed that, though they lacked biological knowledge, Augustine and Aquinas were theistic evolutionists and derivative creationists. Only in the seventeenth century had the fixity of species, which later characterized the classifications of Linaeus and Cuvier, been popularized.[77]

Zahm contended that "not only is Evolution a theory which is in perfect accordance with science and Scripture, with Patristic and Scholastic theology; it is likewise a theory which promises soon to be the generally accepted view; the view which will specially commend itself not only to Christian philosophy, but also to Christian apologetics as well. We have seen some indication of this in the . . . opinions of such eminent Catholic authorities as Monsabre, D'Hulst, Leroy, De Lapparent, and St. George Mivart."[78] Theistic evolution supported teleology, the creative action and influence of God persisted, and man

[75] J. A. Zahm, *Evolution and Dogma* (Chicago, 1896), pp. xvi, 20, 74; *Scientific Theory and Catholic Doctrine* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 10, 14, 37.

[76] Zahm, *Scientific Theory*, pp. 16, 30.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff., 154, 165-168.

[78] Zahm, *Evolution and Dogma*, p. 424. Among the Catholics who had made contributions to evolutionary theory he mentioned Saint-Hilaire, d'Halloy, Gautry, and Bellinck. *Ibid.*, pp. 425-426. Monsignor Maurice d'Hulst, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, opined "que l'orthodoxie rigoureuse n'impose d'autre limiteaux hypothèses transformistes, que le dogme de la création immédiate de chaque âme humaine par Dieu." *Ibid.*, p. 362 n. The late Cardinal Gonzales of Seville had concluded that the current state of evolution gave "no right to reprobate or reject, as contrary to Christian faith, or as contrary to revealed truth, the hypothesis of Mivart. . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362, quoting from *La Biblia y la Sciencia.*

was confirmed in his high state.[79] Evolution might well be by secondary causes, by sudden saltative transformations, by the slow adaptations of natural selection, or by heredity. Classification, morphology, rudimentary organs, embryology, and geographical distribution of fossils gave evidence for the theory. Though only a theory, "the cumulative force of the testimony . . . renders the theory, to say the least, in the highest degree probable. . . . As a theory, Evolution certainly reposes on as firm a foundation as do the atomic theory of matter and undulatory theory of light, or as does Newton's theory of universal gravitation."[80] The world remained indebted to men like Lamarck, Saint Hilaire, Darwin, Wallace, and Mivart, men who had "ushered in a new era and are the kings and prophets of the most active and most prolific period of research that the world has yet witnessed . . . [and] the triumphs of these pioneers of the renaissance of science will endure with undiminished lustre as long as there shall remain an annalist to record the achievements of human progress."[81]

Evolution's acceptance by the reading public was by no means as widespread as in the scientific community, but enlightened Catholics became ever more numerous with the development of their colleges, the improvement of economic status, and the penetration of scientific thought into public consciousness. In 1899 John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, beloved educator and the most scholarly member of the hierarchy, delivered a lecture at Trinity College in Washington, conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. He extolled the progress of the closing century in education, woman's advance, practical and material achievements, and theoretical knowledge:

> The principle of conservation of energy of definite and multiple proportions in chemistry, and of organic evolution, has given us deeper insight to the laws which govern the universe. The function of the cell in all vital processes and the germs' play in zymotic affections, has given a truer knowledge of the laws of health and of the means of prevention and cure of disease. Geology has rewritten the history of the earth, physiology has reconstructed the human body, philology has thrown light on the origin and growth of language, and sociology has explained the principles by which human aggregates are upbuilt and destroyed.[82]

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[79] Zahm, *Scientific Theory*, pp. 228-230, 298-300.

[80] Zahm, *Evolution and Dogma*, pp. 134-136.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

[82] John Lancaster Spalding, "Woman and the Higher Education," *Mosher's Magazine*, XIII (February, 1899), 245-254.

American Catholicism produced no biological evolutionist comparable to Lamarck, St. Hilaire, Quatrefages, or Mivart, or for that matter, such Americans as Asa Gray, Lewis H. Morgan, Edward Cope, Othniel Marsh, or Joseph Le Conte. In Thomas Dwight, however, they had one of the foremost anatomists of the time. The grandson of the noted Dr. John Collins Warren of ether fame, Dwight had a distinguished career at Harvard Medical School, succeeding Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1883 as Parkman professor of anatomy.[83] Dwight did not project himself prominently into the Darwinian controversy, specializing in studies of skeletal joints and bones, but he gradually exposed his skepticism toward Darwinian natural selection.[84] Professor Dwight gave a series of lectures before the Lowell Institute in 1884 on the mechanism of bone and muscle and another series in 1889 on the significance of variations in the human body.[85] In an elaboration of his views in 1901 he reported on a longtime study of forty-five human spines and differed with the prevailing theory of gradual modifications:

> It has, unfortunately for science, become too much the custom to make everything square with this doctrine. . . . I accept evolution, with certain limitations, as the best working hypothesis, although I regard as by no means proved nor even probable, that its course has been a gradual succession of minute changes. Still less do I believe that the human body is, as it were, in a state of oscillation between reversive and progressive variations. Finally, I can see no contradiction between evolution on the one hand, and design and teleology on the other.[86]

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[83] Having studied at Harvard and in Germany and Austria, Dwight taught briefly at Bowdoin, edited the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, served as president of the Association of American Anatomists, was an original member of the editorial board of the *American Journal of Anatomy*, performed surgery at leading Boston hospitals, received an honorary LL.D. from Georgetown University in 1889, built up the Warren Pathological Museum, published numerous articles, became president of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and retained the Parkman chair until his death in 1911. A popular and forceful teacher, whose students were not above trying to fool him by turning in a bear's claw as a child's hand, Dwight was the teacher of Dr. Harvey Cushing, the celebrated brain surgeon. John Warren, "Thomas Dwight, M.D., LL.D.," *Anatomical Record*, V (November, 1911), 531-539; John F. Fulton, *Harvey Cushing* (Springfield, Ill., 1946), pp. 60, 71.

[84] His matured views were best summarized in *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist* (New York, 1911), pp. 148 ff.

[85] *Anatomical Record*, V (November, 1911), p. 534.

[86] Thomas Dwight, "Description of the Human Spines Showing Numerical

Dwight found a vital principle at work, even if the way it operated was as unknown as gravitation or magnetism.[87] In his last months, dying of an incurable disease, he revealed his views developed over many years. Strongly opposed to the excessive claims of dogmatic evolutionists, he, nonetheless, enthused over the impact of the theory on science: "The proposition before us is that man is not essentially different from animals if the inquiry is limited to his bodily structure. . . . A recent discovery in the field of blood-reaction shows a close resemblance physiologically between human blood and that of the higher apes."[88]

Lines of descent were still unknown, many aspects of evolutionary theory were either contradictory or improbable, and natural selection was a defective theory. When the origin of the human body was sought, many accepted evolvement from lower forms: "Catholics have done so upon the understanding that the question is an open one." Although he posited the possibility of bodily evolution by saltation to the point when God "breathed into it the breath of life," an immortal soul, he recognized the opposition of "the great majority of conservative Catholic theologians" who considered such an origin beneath the dignity of man blessed with immortality and a soul in the image of God.[89] Dwight had remained for years puzzled by the objection, "but now I feel more and more inclined to respect it." Ever resentful of "any too dictatorial statement regarding the origin of the body of man," and speculating on the possibilities of physical degeneration following "the fall," he inclined to the relationship of bodily structures, retained an open mind, and considered it better to "set aside the problem of the origin of the human body from a purely scientific point of view as a merely academic question."[90]

Variation in the Warren Museum of the Harvard Medical School," *Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History*, V (January, 1901), 242-243.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311. Dwight continued to find support for evolution by minute changes from his study of anatomical variations, though he was not convinced of the theory of mutations (i.e., by radical change). Cf. his address to the American Society of Naturalists at Philadelphia, "The Mutation Theory of Organic Evolution," *Science*, New Series, XXII (April 7, 1905), 529-532; Sir Bertram Windle, *Twelve Catholic Men of Science* (London, 1923), p. 231.

[88] Dwight, *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist*, pp. 152-153.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162. According to Windle, the post-1900 theological opposition was strong. Dwight apparently found greater latitude than did James J. Walsh on the Catholic's freedom to uphold human evolution in the years following the 1907 decision of the Biblical Commission.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

The end of the century had brought even greater confusion into the evolutionary discussion. The Catholic University of America was for a time interested in inviting St. George Mivart, and Archbishop Ireland had urged the rector, Bishop John J. Keane, to do so, but the dissuasive influence of Archbishops Michael A. Corrigan and Patrick J. Ryan prevented appointment of the controversial Catholic zoologist.[91] Mivart did, however, lecture to the Catholic Summer School.[92] Father Zahm's *Evolution and Dogma,* directed to the same summer school program, came under widespread criticism by churchmen, and rumors of an impending proscription in 1898 led Keane to advise the Notre Dame professor to "stoop to conquer."[93] The next year, on learning that the Holy See opposed further distribution of *Evolution and Dogma,* Zahm withdrew it.[94]

The turn-of-the-century agitation over Modernism was one of redefinition and of theological caution against the claims of rash scientists. Pius X was accused of being an enemy of progress and of scientific thought.[95] Praise was accorded many Catholic scientists, but

[91] John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, August 7, 1889; John Ireland to John J. Keane, April 26, 1892, Archives of the Catholic University of America, quoted in Patrick Henry Ahern, *The Catholic University of America, 1887-1896: The Rectorship of John J. Keane* (Washington, 1948), p. 27. Ireland had advised Keane, "Don't be afraid of good sound liberalism." *Ibid.*

[92] Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., *The Catholic University of America, 1896-1903. The Rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty* (Washington, 1949), p. 20. Mivart later quarreled with the theologians, was excommunicated by Cardinal Vaughan, and died soon thereafter in 1901. Due to the nature of his difficulties in the last months of his life, he was reburied in consecrated ground in 1904. His excommunication was on doctrinal grounds, not on his evolutionary theories.

[93] Keane to Zahm, September 28, 1898, Zahm Papers, Archives of the University of Notre Dame, quoted in Ahern, *op. cit.,* p. 270 n.

[94] Zahm to Alfonso Golea, May 16, 1899, quoted in *Literary Digest,* XIX (August 12, 1899), 200. As to evolution: "My views may not be looked upon with favor by all in Rome. I do not expect so much and I really do not care for the approval of every one. But I know that every eminent man of science throughout Europe is in perfect sympathy with my views. I venture to say that the twentieth century will not be very old before nine out of every ten thinkers will be evolutionists as opposed to believers in special creation." *Ibid.* A scholarly but generally conservative appraisal of the impact of evolution on comparative methodologies was presented in Edmund T. Shanahan, "The Fallacy in Evolution," *Catholic University Bulletin,* VII (July, 1901), 257-275.

[95] Benjamin Joseph Keiley, "Condemnation of Modernism," *Catholic Mind,* IX (1911), 121-146.

Mivart's name virtually disappeared from compendia of Catholic science, and discussion of evolution went into eclipse.[96]

The German Jesuit biologist Erich Wasmann declared in 1909 in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* that man's origins was one of the great questions of the day about which Catholics were concerned, but his view was that of one in the midst of a continuing argument with the followers of Haeckel.[97] The American scene did not reflect such excitement. Histories of Catholicism in the nineteenth century somewhat curiously ignored the conflict of scientists and theologians, the warfare over Darwinism, and the Church's relationship to science.[98] Despite the growing caution over man's bodily origins, it did not lead to any public censure by a Roman congregation on the general theory of evolution.[99]

[96] Cf. Walsh, *A Catholic Looks at Life* (Boston, 1928), wherein he discussed Catholic contributions to biology and anthropology and praised such nineteenth-century Catholic scientists as Schwann, Mendel, Wasmann, MacEnery, Boucher de Perthes, Delaunay, Breuil, and Obermaier. In *The Popes and Science* (New York, 1908) Walsh ignored evolution. Father Kneller maintained, "The theory of evolution is not in itself opposed to theism. It has unfortunately been misused and still lies under reproach and suspicion." Karl Alois Kneller, S.J., *Christianity and the Leaders of Modern Science,* translated by T. M. Kettle (Freiburg, 1911), p. 366. The author, ignoring Mivart, elaborated on the contributions of Catholic scientists, including Lamarck, Saint-Hilaire, Father Friedrich Quinsted, and others. *Ibid.,* pp. 366-386. Joseph Donat, S.J., of the University of Innsbruck, elaborated on the absence of missing links and the mystery of man's origins in *The Freedom of Science* (New York, 1914).

[97] *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* 15 vols. (New York, 1909), V, 654. Wasmann contended that God's use of "natural, evolutionary, original causes" was not improbable, but "actual proofs of the descent of man's body from animals is, however, inadequate, especially in respect to paleontology." H. Muckermann, S.J., accepted transmutation, emphasized environment, and considered natural selection as a negative factor, but the evidence of paleontology, of rudimentary organs, and of ontogeny was insufficient: "There is no trace of even a merely probable argument in favour of the animal origin of man." *Ibid.,* V, 655-670. Turn-of-the-century argument revolved around the materialism of Haeckel. Cf. *Messenger of the Sacred Heart,* XXXVI (July, 1901), 633-642; Ernst Haeckel, *Last Words on Evolution,* translated by Joseph McCabe (New York, 1905).

[98] Cf. Friedrich Nippold, *The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1900); Friedrik Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century* (New York, 1906); James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908),* 2 vols. (St. Louis, 1910).

[99] Sir Bertram C. A. Windle, *The Church and Science* (London, 1926 ed.), pp. 396-398.

It would be the twentieth century's work to continue the paleontological and biological search for the physical origins of man. If natural selection was to lose oracular power, the contribution of Darwin to man's understanding of himself was unparalleled in scientific history. American Catholic thought, however slow to adopt the evolutionary theory, had been stimulated by the conflict over the origins of man. Out of doubt and confusion would eventually emerge a deeper comprehension of man's place in nature.

Boston College

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Church, Kingship, and Lay Investiture in England, 1089-1135. By Norman F. Cantor. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 349. $6.00.)

The author of this volume describes his aim as "to provide a comprehensive history of the controversies over Church-State relations in England during the crucial period from the death of Lanfranc in 1089 to the end of the reign of Henry I in 1135" (pp. 10-11). This, however, is not a strictly accurate account; nor does it do justice to the wealth of material contained in the book. We are given here a detailed study, based on original sources and standard authorities, of Church-State relations from 1089 to the death of Anselm in 1109; and a short general account of the English Church and the papacy from 1109 to 1135. But there is much valuable introductory and incidental material. First, there is a brief historiography of the Gregorian Reform movement which is followed by a short account of the author's view of the investiture contest as one of the four great world revolutions.

While acknowledging that the twelfth-century renaissance was one of the great formative periods in European history, I believe that to isolate and highlight the investiture contest as Mr. Cantor does is to distort historical perspective. I feel that this somewhat sensational ideological interpretation colors Mr. Cantor's whole approach to the problem of Church-State relations in England during the period under discussion. The author introduces his main subject with a description of the "Norman Church-State system," and a general account of the ecclesiastical policy of William I and Lanfranc. We are given an account of Anselm's episcopal colleagues, and the attempt of both Lanfranc and Anselm to establish the supremacy of Canterbury over the whole British Church is touched upon. It is surprising that Mr. Cantor does not in this connection refer to the attempt by both archbishops to extend their jurisdiction to Irish sees, or that he does not list in his bibliography Professor Aubrey Gwynn's studies of Lanfranc and Anselm which are to be found in *Studi Gregoriani* and the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. Also, in view of the full bibliography given, it is surprising to note some outstanding omissions like the works of H. X. Arquillière. There are some fully developed topics arising from the main theme, of which the analysis of the iconographic evidence (there are eight good reproductions) for the coronation of Henry I and English kings in the first half of the twelfth century is of great interest, as is the discussion on the authorship of the "Anonymous Tracts."

On the main study, Church-State relations, 1089-1109, Mr. Cantor is critical of the neglect of English historians for this period, and he presents the investiture contest in England as being a far more serious and complicated issue than historians have hitherto believed. I feel that the final judgment here can only be given by the few specialist historians of this period, and I offer the following criticisms with humility and with respect for the scholarship of the author. It seems to me that, insofar as a character study emerges, the Anselm of this book is unconvincing; that the appearance of a "Reform party" in the English Church in 1100 (pp. 127 ff.) has not been sufficiently explained; and that the claim for a re-assessment of the English investiture contest has not been fully established. Mr. Cantor gives us fresh detail for the history of the struggle, and rejects many of the traditional views explaining the final compromise. E.g., he analyses and rejects the Ivo of Chartres thesis, the Hugh of Fleury thesis, and minimizes completely the influence of the king's sister, Adela, Countess of Blois. But in the end, the over-all picture is not radically different to the standard account save, perhaps, in the interpretation of the facts disclosed. It is a pity that the author did not give a detailed and critical assessment of the sources available for this study.

Mr. Cantor's scholarly work calls attention to an important period in English history and should prove of great interest to mediaevalists.

PATRICK J. DUNNING

St. Mary's College
Strawberry Hill, Middlesex

Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España. By José Goñi Gaztambide. [Victoriensia: Publicaciones del Seminario de Vitoria. Vol. 4.] (Vitoria: Editorial del Seminario. 1958. Pp. L, 724.)

When Villey in 1942 remarked that the religious character of the Spanish reconquest required study, Father Goñi was already engaged in this comprehensive, thoroughly documented investigation of papal bulls authorizing crusades in Spain. The finished work treats the influence of the idea of the crusade in Spain and the support given by the papacy to the reconquest, and to later Spanish wars against the Turks. Not all scholars will agree with the author's insistence that the reconquest prior to the twelfth century was preeminently a religious war; nor will all accept his minimization of Cluny's role in transforming the reconquest into a crusade (which he defines as *una guerra santa indulgenciada*). The initiative, he argues, came from the popes who by 1123 had granted to Spanish crusaders spiritual benefits equivalent to those given crusaders going to the East.

Following the major Spanish crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the reconquest slowed to a halt, and there was scarcely any significant military action to justify numerous crusading projects and papal bulls authorizing them, until Ferdinand and Isabella undertook the conquest of Granada.

In the late mediaeval and early modern era, when the ordinary financial resources of the crown were insufficient for royal needs, Spanish sovereigns became increasingly concerned with the revenue accruing from the crusade and levies on church property. The clergy protested against financial oppression and the numerous abuses which crept into the administration of the indulgence. Some theologians even questioned the validity of the indulgence. Not until the pontificate of Pius V, however, was an effective reform of the bull of the crusade accomplished (1569, 1571). Since then the principal change in the bull has been Pius IX's transfer to the Church of its administration and the funds obtained from it (1849).

Much more is included in Goñi's book than is implied in the title. A study of the administrative organization of the crusade, explicitly excluded from his work, would be preferable to his discussion of topics, which, though interesting in themselves, are extraneous or unnecessary, e.g., Lull's crusade projects, Spanish participation in crusades to the East, the military action of Las Navas, and proposals for the conversion of the Moors. The book shows thorough attention to the sources, edited and unedited, and Goñi's use of a wide range of secondary literature is truly impressive. The bibliography is comprehensive and there is an appendix of twenty-one unedited documents extending from *c.* 1272 to 1560. A detailed table of contents and a complete index are provided. There are, however, numerous printer's errors (such as misplacement of whole sentences) throughout the text. But these are minor defects in a work which is a contribution of the first order to the study of the juridical development of the Spanish crusade.

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

Fordham University

The Meddlesome Friar: The Story of the Conflict between Savonarola and Alexander VI. By Michael de la Bedoyere. (London: Collins Publishers. 1957. Pp. xv, 256. 18s.)

Without pretending to produce a work based upon documentary research of his own, the author has given us a pleasantly readable book based upon the works of earlier historians dealing with Alexander VI and Savonarola. Fortunately, he has used good historians, chiefly Ludwig von Pastor and Herbert Lucas, S.J., and these, together with the author's good sense, have, with some exceptions, kept him on what seems to be the true line of interpretation.

In regard to Alexander VI, however, he is sometimes too anxious to excuse. He does not go to the extremes of Monsignor De Roo or Orestes Ferrara in trying to whitewash Alexander, but he is at some points not as critical as the documents seem to demand. Thus, concerning the famous letter of 1460 which Pius II directed to the then Cardinal Borgia, reprimanding him for his presence at an affair in Siena, "where the dance was indulged in with much wantonness" (pp. 60-62), the author is inclined to think that the cardinal had not been guilty of any really serious indiscretion. The cardinal hastened to try to explain it all away as untrue, exaggerated reports. Pius II answers him in a friendly way, but still insisted that his action "cannot be held to be without blame." Then, in regard to the letter of October 22, 1494, which Alexander VI sent to Giulia Farnese, in which the pope forbids her, under pain of excommunication, to return to her husband, Orsino Orsini, at Bassanello, the author considers that this was merely one of Alexander's "jokes," which should not be taken seriously (p. 98). If one reads through the entirety of this correspondence from the Vatican Archives, printed by Pastor in the appendix of the late editions of his *Geschichte der Päpste* (Volume III), giving the various letters passing between Alexander, Giulia, Lucrezia Borgia, and Adriana Mila, it is believed that it will be clear that the letter of October 22 was no "joke." There were, indeed, possible "reasons affecting our State," as Alexander added to the threat of excommunication in that letter: the French armies of Charles VIII were moving toward Rome and Alexander VI might well fear what a danger it might be to his none too secure position should the French get control of Giulia Farnese and make use of the scandalous reports about her relations with the pope.

In his treatment of Savonarola the author, though well aware of his admirable characteristics, yet insists that he was guilty of disobedience. He will not agree with those recent attempts at the rehabilitation which try to show that Savonarola was really, after all, in the right. He follows Lucas and Pastor in insisting that Alexander VI, terrible though he was in his personal life, was yet in the right in his handling of the Savonarola affair.

WALTER W. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

The New Cambridge Modern History. Volume II. *The Reformation, 1520-59.* Edited by G. R. Elton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 686. $7.50.)

Of the fourteen volumes planned for the *New Cambridge Modern History,* this is the third to appear. Within the years 1520-1559, which are proposed as the terminal points of the volume, occur the revolt of Luther,

the formulatation of doctrinal Protestantism by Calvin, the Henrician Schism, the reforms in the cantons of Switzerland, the anarchy produced by the Anabaptist movement, the appearance of new religious orders at Rome, and the Hapsburg-Valois struggle to dominate the new Europe. Because these are among the most controverted affairs of modern history, this reviewer was impressed to see how well the editor and his contributing writers succeeded in keeping their own interpretation from becoming itself a center of controversy.

The term "reformation" has never represented an univocal concept. The synthesists of the last century presented this period with a strong emphasis on causality, so that the protestations of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, etc., appeared as a reaction provoked largely by the decadence of the Medicean Renaissance. The subsequent activity from Rome was called a counter-reformation, an awakening that was in essence a reaction to Protestantism. Some later historians, many of them Catholic, were irritated by this simplified view, and while admitting certain amounts of derivation between these hurried movements of the sixteenth century, they insisted that Luther's actions were primarily revolutionary, and what was termed the Catholic Counter-reformation was in reality a restoration in zeal already initiated in earlier developments such as the *devotio moderna* in the Netherlands, northern France, and northwest Germany, and the social projects of *La compagnia della regola Santo Geronimo* in northern Italy.

The present study, however, does not accent the cause-and-effect thesis but is interested rather in determining the *Zeitgeist,* the climate of the times, those elements that contributed to its cohesion and uniqueness as a period of history. This allows the writer to explore the worried conscience of Luther, the strange behavior of Calvin at Geneva, the achievements of the religious orders approved by Paul III, etc., without the pressure of polemics common to earlier interpretations, and also without the irrelevant lyricism such, e.g., as is found in the literature that appeared during the quadricentennial of Luther's birth (1883) and of his first open challenge on the matter of indulgences (1917). It also permits the reader to oppose some areas of interpretation, while finding at the same time much that is acceptable and instructive. In fact, the central proposition of the book is debatable, viz., that the forty years that extend between Luther's public burning of the letter of Pope Leo X up to the third session of the Council of Trent, which ended the emperor's attempts to achieve peace by some type of doctrinal compromise, represent an unique movement where "secularization, princely ascendancy over the Church, religious diversity" were dominant (p. 2). This will not sit well with those who see this period as a "temporary aberration" where nothing novel or precise was effected. Nor will it find complete favor with the growing number of revisionists in historiography who wish to abandon the old forms of

periodization and present the Protestant revolt and the Catholic reform in a wider period that might be called "The Age of Religion."

But even those who would raise these issues will still find this volume a step forward over the serviceable though dated method of the first *Cambridge History*. This older work has offered reliable though sometimes confusing assistance for half a century, but its method was greatly influenced by the Rankean school of German historicists who insisted that only that history writing was acceptable which succeeded in proffering facts with all individual conviction or whim of interpretation carefully suppressed. Modern historians believe this detached presentation is unattainable nor should the absence of personal judgments be a norm of excellence. With a realistic concern over the failure of historicism, Sir George Clark, general editor of the *New Cambridge Modern History*, announces his new policy, "With no weakened devotion to truth, historians in our self-critical age are aware that there will not be general agreement with their conclusions, nor even with some of the premises which they regard as self-evident. They must be content to set out their own thought without reserve and to respect the differences which they cannot eradicate" (I, xxxiv).

Among these differences is the statement that the Marian restoration in England "contented itself with persecution and attempted nothing like a true spiritual revival" (p. 249). This is the view that indicts Cardinal Pole for his failure to achieve complete restoration in his short tenure of power. Other studies of Pole, however, show him with a strenuous program of evangelization that with more time could have had great success. Philip Hughes calls him "one of the earliest constructive reformers" (*The Reformation in England*, II, 235). Also with regard to Calvin, it is easy to accept his *Institutes* as the Protestant *summa theologica*, but less easy to regard them as "a handbook for Christian warriors," or the statement that "Calvin restored the exhilaration of Christian comradeship" (pp. 117-119). Such points of difference the editors expect, nor do they seriously mar their work which has a welcome newness and, considering its multiple authorship, a remarkable unity of expression.

EDWARD D. MCSHANE

Alma College

Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan: Band I. Zweiter Teil: *1580-1582*. By Josef Franz Schütte, S.J. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 591.)

The first volume of this work on Valignano's visitation of the Jesuit Japanese missions covers the years 1573 to 1582. The former date is the time of his appointment as visitator to the missions of the Society of Jesus

in the East Indies; the latter year marks the end of his first stay in Japan. Part One of the first volume appeared in 1951. The author notes in his foreword that Part Two had also been written by that time, but technical difficulties delayed its printing until 1958. Part Two, now published, is in itself a respectable tome whose five chapters cover 450 pages. This text is richly provided with footnotes and interspersed with seventeen full-page illustrations, mostly facsimiles of manuscripts and old maps. An additional fifty pages are filled by a valuable appendix of ten hitherto unpublished letters and documents relating to Valignano's visitation and contemporary conditions in Japan. Lastly, there is an index, admirably thorough, of more than eighty pages. All Japanese names used throughout the text and footnotes are followed by the corresponding Japanese characters enclosed in brackets. One might wonder whether this was worth the additional labor and expense, since so few of the book's readers will be able to decipher the Japanese characters, and even these few could have identified the proper names by their Latin-character transliterations.

Be that as it may, the argument of this work is an interesting chapter in mission history. Among all the Jesuit missions in the East Indies, Valignano considered Japan of prime importance. It was of more than passing moment, then, that he should have disagreed radically with the methods of the capable Father Francisco Cabral, superior of the mission. But before Valignano could effectually intervene he had to go through a painful period of crisis and uncertainty, caused on the one hand by an inadequate supply of information, and on the other, by opposition to his plans. Part Two of the first volume takes up the story as the visitator begins to see his way clear to lay down some guiding norms for mission method. These included such items as the missionaries' adaptation to native ways and culture. In the territory of Miyako he found a fellow-Italian named Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo, S.J., as devoted a missionary as was Cabral, but poles apart from him in attitude and approach. Cabral was more the conquistador type, Portuguese to the core, and suspicious of what might come to pass should the Japanese Church grow too native and independent. Organtino's way was to become as Japanese as possible: his enthusiasm for the country and its people knew no bounds. By the end of his first Japanese tour of duty, Valignano had taken a position midway between these two. He shared Organtino's love for the Japanese, but not all of his enthusiasm; on the other hand, he could not accept Cabral's hesitation and misgivings, and still less a certain harshness in dealing with the Japanese. His guiding norms had been laid down, in spite of dire predictions from the side of Cabral. Father Schütte's further study will trace the fate of these norms in practice over the years that followed Valignano's departure from the islands. This work is a credit

to the Jesuit Historical Institute of Rome, of which Father Schütte is a member. Students of mission history are in his debt for this definitive study of a chapter in the history of Jesuit missions in Japan.

VINCENT J. FECHER

Saint Mary's Mission House
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The Synod of Diamper. By Jonas Thaliath, T.O.C.D. [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Volume 152.] (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. 1958. Pp. xix, 238. $5.00.)

This is a doctoral dissertation presented at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. Father Thaliath belongs to the Discalced Carmelites who have worked for centuries among the Malabar Christians of India, so his choice of subject was a natural one. Much must be said for the bravery of this young scholar: he has stepped into an age-old controversy which still appears far from a solution. The so-called St. Thomas Christians, whom the Portuguese found in India when they arrived there in the early sixteenth century, were made up of small groups intermixed with the pagan population on the east and west coasts of India. They had been quite isolated for centuries and had had time to develop various and sundry "superstitions," as Father Thaliath calls them, or "schismatic and Nestorian ideas," as the Portuguese called them, after their first flush of enthusiasm on finding Christians had given way to an examination of their official writings. This reviewer refuses to be dragged into this controversy. Suffice it to say that it seems to me that the young Roman scholar appears to lean over backward to defend the Thomas Christians, while showing very little sympathy for the activities of the Portuguese and their *padroado.*

The Synod of Diamper was an attempt on the part of Archbishop Menezes of Goa to latinize and purge the Malabar Church of what he considered to be errors in liturgy and doctrine. It opened on June 20, 1599. Archbishop Menezes used every means, including political pressure, to bring about this synod and to control its deliberations. The author's conclusions are: the synod was invalidly convened; was "packed" by Menezes partisans; its decrees were falsified in translation, with additional canons added by Menezes later on for Rome's perusal; its results were disastrous and led to the Jacobite schism. Only in 1896 did the "far-sighted Leo XIII" restore to the Malabar Christians their "proper jurisdiction and bishops." The "marvelous development of the Malabar Church . . . and the return of one section of the Jacobites to the true fold," concludes the author, "are the surest proof that a more liberal and enlightened policy would have paid abundant dividends long ago" (pp. 173 f.). This may very well be true, but

sixteenth-century Iberian Christians were quite intransigent in these matters, sometimes with good reason.

Some remarks on sources: the reviewer is surprised that Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (three ms volumes) was not used for the Franciscan part (admittedly important) in this controversy. The work is in the Vatican Library, Manuscript Section, No. 7746. To this reviewer a glaring defect is the complete lack of Spanish documentation from Spanish archives, although the synod took place during the dual monarchy. Also, the author's citations of material from the Torre do Tombo archive in Lisbon appear quite incomplete. The book is, however, well organized and well presented. It certainly will be of importance in any further study of this thorny subject.

MATHIAS C. KIEMEN

Academy of American Franciscan History

Reformation & Reaction in Tudor Cambridge. By H. C. Porter. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 461. $10.00.)

This eminently readable volume is another in the series of English ecclesiastical monographs published by the Cambridge University Press. Its author is a former research fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and is now a lecturer in history in the University of Toronto. In its initial form the work was awarded the Archbishop Cranmer Prize in 1952 and publication was made possible by a grant from the Cranmer Prize Fund. Under the conditions of this award, an acceptable book must "relate to the intention and result of the changes in doctrine, organization and ritual within the Church of England between 1500 and 1700." *Reformation & Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* meets the specifications set by the awards committee by its consideration of religious developments within the colleges of the University of Cambridge between the era of St. John Fisher in the early sixteenth century and the stabilization of the Puritan spirit in the 1650's when Cromwellian parliamentarians rather than Tudor absolutists ruled England. In a sense, it is the story of a "Cambridge movement" which proceeded in a far different direction from the better known "Oxford movement" of the mid-nineteenth century. Dr. Porter states that his purpose is to tell the story of the Reformation in England as it affected a specific academic community which, in turn, became influential enough to reach out and shape the reformation thus brought to them into another form of belief and practice. His narrative, illumined by anecdotes, appendices, and end-paper regional maps, brings the reader to a Cambridge

known both to Erasmus in 1520 and to Benjamin Whichcote in 1650, a span of time that witnessed the ascendancy of the pulpit over the altar.

Dr. Porter's book is free of partisan sectarianism. The portrait of St. John Fisher as churchman and educator is sympathetically drawn with due gratitude expressed for his position as "founder of modern Cambridge." The activities of Erasmus at Cambridge are described, and it is refreshing to see a viewpoint which contradicts the gratuitous suppositions expressed in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*. Even casual readers of the history of the English Reformation, as found in either Belloc or Philip Hughes, know about the "Little Germany" clique and its meeting place in the White Horse, between King's College and St. Catherine's in Cambridge. Yet only the specialist in Tudor times fully realizes that no other group possessed such a pervasive influence on the nature and future development of English Protestantism. This circle was more than a gathering of pious scholars interested in reading the Bible in English and discussing Luther's innovations in doctrine. "Little Germany" became the seed-bed for the nucleus of opposition to ritualism, hierarchical organization, and sacramental administration as known under Henry VIII's "pontificate." In fact, "Little Germany" moved its headquarters from the hearthside tables of the White Horse Inn to the quadrangles and common rooms of St. John's, King's, Trinity, and Christ Colleges, and other scholarly quarters of Cambridge. In the university there emerged a blend of peculiarly English Protestantism and anti-popery continental thought which produced the Puritanism so characteristic of Church of England belief, even in later years when some ritualism crept back into divine service.

Various phases of this amalgamation of ideas which are treated in this book include the rise of Cambridge Puritanism under Edward VI, its suspension while Mary Tudor was queen and the protagonists were in exile, its return with varying levels of traditionalism under Elizabeth, and its ramifications under gifted spokesmen from the various colleges. There was severe Calvinism taught by Whitaker and Perkins, and opposition from moderates such as Lancelot Andrewes and John Whitgift. In the early seventeenth century there was the struggle to reconcile nature and grace, revelation and reason, predestination and free choice, and the different segments of such discussions and conclusions reached are set forth by the author. Even smaller squabbles such as the doctrinal significance underlying the wearing of surplices in choir are given sufficient and often quite witty attention. Dr. Porter has provided important insights into an often-overlooked chapter of English religious history, and the result is appetizing to a Tudor scholar. Unfortunately, the price tends to discourage the casual student.

THOMAS W. CUNNINGHAM

Seton Hall University

Le Régime Paroissial des Diocèses de Rite Latin de l'Inde des Origines (XVI Siècle) à Nos Jours. By Fortunato Coutinho. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain. 1958. Pp. xxxviii, 306. 350 frs. bel.)

This volume is a dissertation for the master's degree in theology in the University of Louvain by a Goanese priest of the Archdiocese of Bangalore. While it is neither a history of the missions nor a history of the Catholic Church in India, the thesis, nevertheless, treats an important item in the history of the missions in India—the parish and its development. Omitting the so-called St. Thomas Christians, the author limits himself to the churches of the Latin Rite which consist of two groups. The first owes its origin to the missionaries of the *padroado* sent out from Portugal beginning with the sixteenth century; at present this group is comprised of the churches of the Archdiocese of Goa and is subject to the Congregation of the Council. The second group, which is under the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, consists of the churches founded since the middle of the seventeenth century by missionaries sent out by the Holy See. Thus we have the main divisions of the work: the regime in parishes of the *padroado* and in those of Propaganda. The treatment is carried down to the present day.

The reader finds much interesting information—difficult to run down elsewhere in a short time—on how the *padroado* in Portuguese India affected parish life: the appointment of pastors and assistants, the financial support coming from both the state and the faithful, and the administration of ecclesiastical goods. The same treatment follows for the dioceses depending on Propaganda, excepting, of course, that there was no state supported church. Financial aid came largely from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and from gifts of private individuals outside of the missions. The British government, however, helped out in the construction of chapels and the pay of military chaplains. The problems of self-support as also that of safeguarding ecclesiastical property in accordance with the provisions of civil law—problems unknown in the *padroado*—are today the constant preoccupation of the Indian bishops.

Interesting sidelights are given on the work of the religious orders in India from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present, the question of double jurisdiction especially in the churches in Bombay, the problem of a native clergy, and finally the modern effort to adapt and foster Indian styles of architecture in the construction of churches.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

Alma College

The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700. By John Leddy Phelan. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 218. $4.00.)

Those readers who may have read John Leddy Phelan's volume, *The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, 1956) will be eager to read this work. It is equally thought-provoking. In a way, it is also a continuation of the earlier work, for, it was in the Philippines that the missionaries came closest to the realization of their kingdom.

The Spanish colonization of the islands began in 1565. It was at a time, therefore, appreciably after the conquests of Peru and Mexico had been completed. The Filipinos profited by the delay, for King Philip II in his instructions to Legazpi clearly indicated that he wanted a bloodless pacification. The *adelantado,* aided by the Augustinian Urdaneta, observed these orders to a remarkable degree. Fortunately also for the Filipinos, their islands never attracted Europeans in such numbers as had Mexico. Partially this was occasioned by the distance, but there was also the absence of mining. Hence there was no prospect of quick wealth. The result was that the Spanish colonists, numbering only a few thousand, were confined almost exclusively to the walled city of Manila which was destroyed during World War II. It was the priest who was to live among the people.

The missionaries—Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits in their order of arrival—were never numerous: 254 to 400 among more than 500,000 natives. Certainly this was not an overwhelming number. Yet, in the absence of rancher and miner, they were almost the sole agents of both conversion and hispanization. This fact was of cardinal importance in the development of the islands. Catholicism was, indeed, welcomed by the tribes of the lowlands. Yet, their native chieftains were to retain sufficient power to react selectively to Spanish innovations. The names of the institutions are the same (*encomienda,* etc.) but the substance is different. There were also other differences which set the Spanish colonization of the Philippines off from that of Mexico. Less than ten per cent of the people ever learned to speak Spanish. There were few mestizos, few native slaves, and no epidemics to decimate the population.

However, the missionaries did achieve their primary goal: paganism was banished. Ritual drunkenness was abolished and the Filipinos became the sober people they remain to this day. A new standard of pre-marital and marital morality was set up and even though it was not always observed, it was always recognized as the standard. In a word, the Filipinos became Catholics even though in some externals their faith may have varied from that of Spain. They remain Catholic today. Indeed, they are the only Christian people of the Far East. Certainly this fact is a valuable testimony

to the validity of the labors of the Spanish missionaries. This volume has three maps, several illustrations, and a short index.

ANTONINE S. TIBESAR

The Catholic University of America

Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld, Eine Stimme in der Wüste. By Emmy Rosenfeld. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1958. Pp. x, 399. DM 45.)

Few men of the seventeenth century experienced with deeper pathos the extremes of inhuman cruelty produced by the religious wars or the shocking excesses of the mania of witch-hunting as did the gifted young Jesuit of the north German province, Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld. What distinguishes this unheralded figure of the Thirty Years' War and the Catholic restoration is that he not only perceived the agony of a disillusioned generation torn by the vicissitudes of war and intolerance, but that he reflected this in remarkable poetic forms. Spee's work as a baroque poet has been the subject of a number of monographs and articles in philological journals. His efforts to combat witch-hunting have also won him a place in the history of tolerance. Yet this work of Miss Rosenfeld fills a gap in both the history of literature and tolerance in unfolding the life of one whom she rightfully calls "a voice calling in the desert."

His *Guldines Tugendbuch,* a remarkable dialogue between a confessor and his penitent, is a literary effort that stands out amidst the plethora of polemical-ascetical works that are so much a part of baroque Catholicism. In it, elements of the *devotio moderna,* still so much of a religious heritage of the lower Rhine, are blended with the spirituality of the *Exercises.* Although keeping within the framework of the Thomism that colored all his writings, he injects a "humanitas Christiana," a tolerant understanding, a deep sympathy for the penitent of that uncertain period. In it is that feeling for human weakness that inspired the great admirer of Spee, Leibnitz, to call it a "liber plane divinus." The author also treats with Teutonic thoroughness Spee's other masterpiece, the *Trutznachtigall,* a collection of some fifty-one poems that seems to combine the spirit of the baroque with mediaeval mysticism. That they still form a portion of the beautiful *Kirchenlieder* sung in the Catholic churches of the Rhineland is a tribute to his effectiveness in an apostolate where song and an emphasis on hymnology played such an important role in reclaiming Lutheran territories. The lyricism of these poems is almost Franciscan and sheds no small light on the progress of the counter reform in this area reflecting the mildness that characterized the little known efforts of the Capuchins in restoring Catholicism in northern Europe.

The greatest merit in the work, however, is the evaluation of Spee's pioneering efforts to expose and break down the horrible blight of witch-hunting. While due credit has been given to his confrère, Adam Tanner, as well as to Johannes Weyer of the Cleve court and the Dutch cleric, Cornelius Loos, in their polemic against this almost incredible mania, it is the burden of Miss Rosenfeld's book to show Spee's *Cautio Criminis*, first published in 1631, as the weapon that gradually brought reason to constrain the epidemic that was sweeping countless thousands of innocent men and women in northern Europe into tortured confessions and to the stake. The dependency on Thomism in this work is deftly demonstrated. The historical résumé of the Church's attitude toward witchcraft and the restraint with which the author treats the unreasonable attitude of contemporary theologians, as well as the lack of sympathy on the part of Spee's co-religious, is admirable. Father Spee died at Trier in 1635 the victim of a fever contracted while caring for the wounded French and Spanish troops. His death, like his whole life, was a Christ-like dedication to human suffering. Seldom has the priest, the poet, and the protector of the persecuted been so beautifully combined in one person. It is to the great credit of Emmy Rosenfeld that she treats this combination with an insight and understanding that are the result of painstaking research and sympathy.

JOHN P. DOLAN

University of Notre Dame

The Cardinal King. By Brian Fothergill. (London: Faber & Faber. Pp. 271. 30s.)

In an age when so much is made of the complete separation of Church and State this interesting and informative biography of Henry Cardinal Stuart will cause much discussion. The unusual chain of events that began with the defeat of Charles Stuart at Culloden and ended with his younger brother Henry becoming Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and at the same time the only direct Stuart heir of the English throne is fully portrayed. The author in his vivid picture of Henry's entrance into the College of Cardinals and later into the priesthood makes it clear that these moves were not a matter of mere political expediency. According to Mr. Fothergill, Henry's decision to become a priest was a greater blow to the re-establishment of the Stuarts than any military defeat because the English would not relish the idea of such a close union between its king and the detested Roman Church.

The high ideals, generosity to the poor, administrative ability, and love of the neglected are shown in Stuart's remarkable achievements as Bishop of Frascati for nearly fifty years. His undying loyalty to his father and

brother and their efforts to establish recognition of their claims to the throne was further enhanced by the revelation of the many trying circumstances into which they forced him; and his obedience to the pope in spite of personal embarrassment indicated his deep attachment to the Church. As Vice Chancellor of the Church, and later Dean of the College of Cardinals, he was brought into contact with many of the important personages of the time. Glimpses of men like Louis XV of France, Vittorio Alfieri the poet, the future Cardinal Consalvi who was York's protege, and the host of important personages who visited him sheds further light on the history of the times.

All who are interested in a clear picture of the dignity, honor, and prestige of the divine right prince will enjoy this biography with its fresh and interesting style. The many letters from the persons involved tell better than any narrator could the motives and the feelings of the principal characters with whom Henry Stuart was involved. One regrets, however, that there is never any mention made of the source of these letters, nor are any footnotc references employed. The book contains five excellent half-tone illustrations, a bibliography, and an index.

EDWARD C. DUNN

Calvert High School
Tiffin, Ohio

Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen. Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter der Nationalkirchen Westasiens. By Peter Kawerau. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1958. Pp. xi, 772.)

Inclusion in the distinguished series Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte is sufficient guarantee of the high scholarly quality of this monograph. The author availed himself of a period of study in the United States to make an extensive examination of the pertinent material, both printed and manuscript. Kawerau's account of the sources from which this American Protestant missionary effort sprang provides a background which is essential to an understanding of the genius of the enterprise. In its inception and throughout the years covered in the volume (to 1850) the initiating and sustaining body was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Originally undenominational and seeking to bring together all Protestants in the United States who shared its theological presuppositions to spread the Gospel throughout the world, the American Board, as it was briefly known, drew its support and its missionaries chiefly from that strain of New England Congregationalism which was deeply indebted to the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century and the Second Awakening of the 1790's and the early 1800's. It was committed to an offshoot of Calvinism which was shaped by Jonathan Edwards and his pupil and friend,

Samuel Hopkins, and which had a radiating center in Andover Theological Seminary. Hopkinsianism, with its stress on disinterested benevolence as the duty of Christians and on a universe steadily set by God toward the goal of the greatest happiness of all His creatures, furnished an impelling motive. That motive was reinforced by a belief in the early dawn of the thousand-year reign of Christ. The advent of the millennium could be hastened, so Hopkins maintained, by the universal spread of the Gospel. That spread the American Board sought to further in many different parts of the world.

In sending missionaries to western Asia the American Board hoped to re-vitalize the Oriental Churches in such fashion that through them Moslems would be converted and Islam disappear. In the course of a few years the American missionaries had traversed much of western Asia from Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine to Persia, and had made contacts with several of the Oriental Churches. At the outset they had hoped that the revival of the Oriental Churches could be accomplished without creating fresh schisms. Before long, however, the members of those churches who came to share the convictions of the missionaries were excommunicated by the conservative majority and formed congregations which were essentially Protestant.

The story thus so briefly outlined is told in detail by the author with objective perspicacity. The book constitutes a major contribution to the history of Christianity in western Asia in the nineteenth century.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Yale University

Pie VII. Des Abbayes bénédictines à la Papuaté. By J. Leflon. Volume I. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1958. Pp. ii, 620. 2,200 frs.)

By far the most detailed and best authenticated account of the fifty-eight pre-papal years of Pius VII appears in this initial volume by Canon Leflon, a well known specialist in recent French ecclesiastical history. Summarily handled by preceding biographers, these decades have remained shrouded in considerable obscurity. Patient archival research has now dissipated much of it; yet at several points the author bewails the lack or disappearance of records. These lacunae he has endeavored successfully to fill in by a masterful portrayal of the religious, intellectual, political, and social milieu in Italy during the second half of the eighteenth century. Effectively this is as much a history of the times as a life of his subject, for there are long stretches when the name of the main character seldom occurs.

Barnaba Chiaramonti's noble and distinguished lineage, birth in 1742, and early years including the start of a Benedictine vocation at the age of fourteen in the monastery at Cesena, his home town, are handled briefly (pp. 3-27). Much more attention centers on his philosophical and theological education in Benedictine houses at Padua and Rome (pp. 28-87). In good part these pages comprise a description of Italian Jansenism and its infiltration of ecclesiastical circles, including that surrounding Dom Gregorio, as he was called in religion. This goes far toward understanding the pronounced anti-Jesuitism of some of his professors. The restorer of the Society of Jesus, "fit ainsi ses études dans un milieu où d'aucuns poussaient très loin l'hostilité contre l'action, l'esprit, l'enseignement théologique de la Compagnie" (p. 30). Preoccupying the section (pp. 88-160) on his activities from 1766-1781 as librarian and professor is a study of the penetration into Italy of the French Enlightenment and his reaction to it.

Pius VI, also from Cesena, though no relative, is seen as the principal factor in the rise of his fellowtownsman, responsible for summoning him to Rome soon after the conclave of 1775 and making him prior, siding with him in domestic Benedictine disputes, promoting him in 1782 to the See of Tivoli, and within three years bestowing on him a red hat as he transferred him to the more important post of Bishop of Imola. If the stay at Tivoli is readily despatched (pp. 161-88), the one at Imola embraces over half the book (pp. 189-531). It revolves for the most part around the French Revolution which brought across the Alps an invasion of new ideas, then one of impoverished priests driven from their homeland, and finally one of French soldiery. In resisting a regime hostile to the Church, dealing at close quarters with General Bonaparte, and pacifying popular turbulence, the cardinal gained experience invaluable for the long-suffering pontificate which followed, and he demonstrated those qualities of gentleness and tact coupled with firmness which later were to win the admiration of the world and victory. Worthy of special notice, considering the tensions of the time, is the protracted summation of the famous Christmas homily of 1797 on the gospel and democracy. The final chapter (pp. 532-606) exhaustively pursues every move of the fifteen-week conclave which broke a deadlock by choosing a member who was among the least favored at the opening. No estimate of the size of Canon Leflon's completed work is ventured, but it bids fair to be as impressive in length as in quality if throughout the eventful twenty-three-year pontificate there is sustained the pace of the present tome—one of the most extended histories of any pre-papal career.

JOHN F. BRODERICK

Weston College

Die Vorgeschichte des Kulturkampfes. Quellenveröffentlichung aus dem Deutschen Zentralarchiv. Bearbeitet von Adelheid Constabel mit einer Einleitung von Fritz Hartung. Herausgegeben von der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung im Ministerium des Innern. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1957. Pp. 368. DM 27,20.)

As the title suggests, this collection of documents deals with the formative period of the Kulturkampf from the summer of 1870 through 1872. The materials—reports, protocols, and letters—come in large measure from the files of the old Prussian Ministry of Public Worship, but these have been supplemented and complemented by important documents of the Prussian cabinet and selections from the correspondence between Emperor William I and Empress Augusta. The sometimes testy replies of the aging ruler to his pro-Catholic wife provide occasional human and light touches in this compilation of otherwise legalistic and tragic material. Sprinkled throughout the whole work are letters from the leading episcopal personalities in the conflict, the Prince-Bishop of Breslau, Heinrich Förster, Archbishop Melchers of Cologne, and Bishop Krementz of Ermeland. Their presence is a reminder that there is still no critical study of the Kulturkampf based upon the use of diocesan archival materials.

This work reveals nothing new to the specialist, as Fritiz Hartung rightly points out in his introduction. Some of these documents earlier appeared in the Bismarck *Gesammelte Werke;* and the major biographies of the two Ministers of Public Worship, the conservative Protestant von Mühler and his successor, the liberal Falk, had extensive source bases. The documents deal chiefly with the prime issue in the debate between the Prussian government and the hierarchy, viz., the question of what the government should do about Catholic theologians and religion teachers at state educational institutions who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility. But the historian can only see this issue in its proper focus because he knows from other sources how exercised conservative Protestants, liberals, and Prussian state officials were over the decision of the German bishops to abandon their earlier opposition to the definition of the dogma.

Yet these materials do make an impact. The very first document suggests that the Prussian Ministry of Public Worship expected violent controversy to break out among German Catholics over the new definition. This assumption throws light on the ministry's stubborn decision to support the anti-infallibilist professors and teachers; to the point, it should be added, of forcing Catholic seminarians and lay students to sit under these persons for a brief period. The bishops' letters reveal that they were adamant in their insistence that all Catholic teachers had to accept papal infallibility, but that they were equally careful to avoid the brusque methods used by Archbishop Droste zu Viscering in his personal battle with the Prussian

government over the issue of mixed marriages in 1837. And, finally, Falk's briefs on the bishops' use of the major excommunication suggest how difficult it was to reconcile such an act with the rights of a Prussian citizen. Readers will find that Hartung's introduction is a handy guide through these complex materials. They may well wonder though why a historian of his reputation and experience was satisfied to do little more than trace the origins of the Kulturkampf through the documents, eschewing a critical evaluation of official Prussian policies.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

University of Massachusetts

Österreich und der Vatikan. Band I. *Die Pontifikate Pius IX und Leos XIII, 1846-1903.* By Friedrich Engel-Janosi. (Graz-Wien-Köln: Verlag Styria. 1958. Pp. xxiv, 323. 136.—.)

The dark brick walls of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome were destined to encompass a lot of history-in-the-making. This imposing quattrocentro structure sheltered during the nineteenth century the ambassadors of the Austrian Empire as it was later to serve as Mussolini's headquarters. The auspicious beginning of Pio Nono's long pontificate ushered in one of the stormiest yet most glorious chapters in the history of the Church and in Italian history as well. What happened in Rome and Italy, while profoundly affecting many other nations and their governments, was always a matter of utmost concern to Austrian statesmen. After the national revolution of 1848 Austria's dominant position inside Italy was seriously endangered, and, as it soon became clear, irreparable damage had been done both to the temporal rule of the papacy and the hegemony of the Hapsburg Empire. The pope's flight to Gaeta, the brief interlude of the Roman Republic, French intervention, Pius IX's return, and Antonelli's rising influence produced a situation which imposed extreme caution and vigilance upon Metternich's successors.

It was no longer just a matter of stabilizing, preserving, or restoring a system that was shaky and vulnerable. Vital interests were at stake since the Ballhausplatz had henceforth to reckon with a new factor, Louis Napoleon, who committed France to an ambitious and adventurous policy in regard to the Holy See and its temporal basis. The dynamic forces of the Risorgimento and the revolutionary character of the broad, relentless national movement in conjunction with the unique and utterly machiavellian statesmanship of Camillo Cavour placed Pius IX and Austria in a tragic position from which there was no escape but a desperate flight against overwhelming odds, retreat, renunciation, and the final debacles of 1866 and 1870. Beust tried hard to give the Austro-Hungarian Empire a new lease

of life but the methods he employed and the political allies he chose doomed his attempts. Austria's equivocal attitude toward the Vatican Council, the revocation of the Concordat of 1855, and the acquiescence in the occupation of Rome added to the many bitter disappointments which the Danubian Monarchy had caused Pius IX and his faithful Secretary of State. Under Leo XIII the papacy had to weather many a storm while the Roman Question became a "dead issue," and the Austro-Hungarian Empire underwent a further weakening by the domestic struggle of conflicting national groups.

The story of these eventful years has been presented by Professor Engel-Janosi in an attractive, neatly printed volume. No one, indeed, was better qualified for this formidable task. In ten previously published studies (three of which appeared in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW) he had sufficiently demonstrated his sovereign mastery of the subject. Rooted in the very best traditions of Austrian historiography and armed with considerable critical and interpretative power, he has written a vivid and well documented account which throws much light upon this somewhat neglected area of modern history. On every page there is evidence of the intensive research of many years as the narrative closely follows the reports submitted by the Austrian diplomats and the instructions emanating from the Ballhausplatz. Obviously, the author's chief merit consists in his full exploitation of the available diplomatic correspondence, mainly of the ample material of the Vienna Archives (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) whereby some hitherto unknown documents could be utilized. Since the Vatican Archives for this period have not yet been made accessible, Professor Engel-Janosi found it necessary to extend his search to the Archives of the French foreign ministry. He also consulted other valuable sources and some unpublished material such as the private correspondence and memoirs of Count Friedrich Karl Revertera-Salandra, who had served as Austrian Ambassador to the Vatican from 1888 to 1901. It was thus possible for the author to pierce deep to the marrow of things and to give his presentation a broader basis. Although his main concern naturally hinges upon the ever-changing and frequently strained relations between Austria and the Vatican, the narrative does not suffer from the limitations of "diplomatic history." On the contrary, while carefully tracing the political developments, the author managed to create a clear and well drawn picture of the dramatic events, the leading actors, and the background. Thoroughly familiar with the vast amount of literature pertaining to this rich and complex epoch, Dr. Engel-Janosi has with his vigorous approach enlarged the horizon of our knowledge, removed some misconceptions, and laid firm foundations for reference and future research.

If the analysis is not lacking in accuracy, the story is far from being complete. No one is more keenly aware of this than the author himself

as he points out in the introduction. He had to leave some questions unanswered. I cite only two instances: the mysterious "affaire de Ferrara" (p. 29) and the ulterior motives of Cardinal Antonelli's attitude in regard to Austria's retreat (1859-1860) (p. 108). Baron Hübner's words, "I prefer lacunae to fairy tales" may, therefore, be fittingly applied to Engel-Janosi's excellent piece of scholarship. There are surprisingly few errors, and the ones I noted are of no consequence: "anche," not "nache" (p. 51); "dénué," not "dénoué" (p. 205), and the German text on page 140 should read "Belagerung Hippos durch die *Vandalen*" (not Westgoten). An index will be included in the final volume which will cover the years 1903-1918 and which will be ready for publication by the end of 1959. With the completion of this work Friedrich Engel-Janosi will move to the forefront of the leading historians of our time.

HANS W. L. FREUDENTHAL

College of Saint Teresa
Winona

Il Movimento Sociale nell'Opera dei Congressi (1874-1904). By Angelo Gambasin. (Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae. 1958. Pp. xx, 741.)

This volume of the Analecta Gregoriana is described in its sub-title as contributing to the history of social Catholicism in Italy. More than this is attained, however, because the author eminently succeeds in illuminating the somewhat neglected field of Catholic sympathy for the popes despoiled of their long-held territory. There were two challenges that called forth the founding of the Opera dei Congressi, the first being the desire of many Italian Catholics to demonstrate their loyalty and allegiance to the pontiff, while the second was the urgency of meeting and remedying those social problems threatening underprivileged Italians. A national union offered to all local and regional associations of Catholics that impact by which one united voice of obedience to the pope, coupled with the resolve to aid those in need, could alone be made. The Opera dei Congressi had five sections, in which doctrinal and apostolic goals were intermingled. The sections provided for concentration on matters of religion, charity, instruction, press, and art. It is the second section whose story is described in this book, viz., the phase dedicated to works of charity and Christian social programs. Hospitals, prisoner aid, legal assistance, credit-unions, co-operatives, dowries, summer camps, and workers' clubs were some of the aims of the social action arm of the Opera. Parochial, diocesan, and regional committees served under the guidance of the national committee in the promotion of these aims.

The relationship of the Roman Question and the rights of the papacy to territory as a guarantee of spiritual independence, to the social program of the Opera is studied by the author to see if this delicate matter served to advance or to delay the work of charity. Because successive pontificates brought new influences to bear on the institution, care is taken to weigh and analyze such influences. During the years of existence of the Opera mention of the poor gave way to discussion of poverty and talk of charity shifted to ideas of social economy. In this way a Catholic social action program evolved from the initial plans of aid and assistance to others.

This lengthy and detailed chronicle of the national union of committees and congresses includes 130 pages of tables which offer a chronology of major events in the life of the Opera, a recapitulation of meetings large and small, a list of the officers of the sections of the Opera, and statistics of local committees. A sound and careful description of sources, followed by a critique of historical notice of the social action program, serves to re-enforce and make most convincing the value of this investigation. A prime feature is the exploration for the first time of the archives of the Central Committee of the Opera, offering a picture of the spirit and enthusiasm of the pioneers and leaders of the Italian religious and social forces. That all was not secular, anti-clerical, inimical to the papacy in Italy is clearly proved by the inner view afforded the reader of Catholics loyal to the Vicar of Christ; that all was not merely political, nationalistic, or selfish is demonstrated by the hopes and the ideals of charity wherever needed.

THOMAS F. CASEY

St. John's Seminary
Brighton

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States. By Edward J. Power. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1958. Pp. xiii, 383. $7.00.)

In last summer's stimulating issue of the *Dublin Review,* the Bishop of Salford digressed in his article on Catholic higher education in England to observe that, "in America, the means of higher education are available, and it is one of the important distinctions between English and American Catholic educational effort that, whereas in the nineteenth century our attention in this country was focussed on the saving of Catholic children from the Poor Law schools and on the building up of a system of elementary education, the Americans, as a result of wider vision, or of greater opportunity, embarked on the establishment of a whole array of

Catholic universities" [*Dublin Review* (Summer, 1958), p. 104.] It is the story of this development, be it providential or opportunistic, that Dr. Power, associate professor of education in the University of Detroit, tells forthrightly, and, in most instances, adequately, in this new book. The work must be welcomed by all interested in the history of the American Church as the first attempt to compress into a single handy volume a general history of Catholic higher education in the United States.

The work is one which only a scholar of deep convictions would publish. The soft-spoken Dr. Power frankly informs us that "the curriculum of the Catholic college during its formative period did not contain what the educated community considered to be of most worth" (p. 54); that "it is impossible to say that Catholic colleges had their share of scholars" (pp. 100, 153, n. 14); that prior to 1930 "good students did not attend Catholic graduate schools . . . they could see that Catholic graduate schools had very little to offer" (p. 237). Since each of the eight chapters contains similar comments, one might conclude that the author is woefully impatient and critical with the past. On the contrary, his candid approach gives credit and praise where these are due. He acknowledges that the American bishops "individually and collectively were more effective as educational leaders than college presidents" in the early development of our higher educational system (p. 153), and he points to the uncompensated labors of teachers drawn from the ranks of religious communities and the diocesan priesthood as an endowment which can be measured only in billions of dollars (p. 168). And even where treating of one of his favorite subjects, the failure of administrators, he grants that, despite the many burdening qualifications and the diverse, time-consuming tasks imposed upon these harried and narrowly trained men, their vision and directive pressures were surprisingly fruitful (pp. 145 ff.). In fact, at one point, where he speaks of the influence of Bishop England's seminary, the author makes too ambitious a claim (p. 261).

But it is for its negative passages that this book will be discussed. Father Neil McCluskey in his generally favorable review for *America* (November 8, 1958) took Dr. Power to task somewhat sternly for his unfavorable treatment of the motives for the establishment of Catholic colleges, pointing out that social factors accounted for much of the lack of intellectualism in Catholic institutions, and that a comparable shortcoming afflicted contemporary non-Catholic schools. Another passage for which the author is sure to be attacked, and which puts him in the center of the current discussion of American Catholic intellectualism, points out some deficiencies of our graduate schools (pp. 235-237). He admits that "the graduate schools in Catholic colleges have improved to the point where their standards are good and their quality is high through the master's degree." But the general tone of the section seems in harmony with the

recent conclusion of Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee in *The Academic Marketplace* (New York, 1958) that taking a degree at a Catholic graduate school constitutes an academic handicap, since scholastic prestige seems to be the monopoly of a small number of secular universities. [Cf. Victor C. Ferkiss, "Catholicism and the Intellectual," *Social Order* (February, 1959), p. 73.]

Dr. Power's work may also be criticized for things it does not say. Chapter III, which discusses the development of curriculum in Catholic colleges, omits any worthwhile treatment of seminaries and their philosophical and theological leadership and contribution to American Catholic life. It is another serious omission to disregard the impact that the accreditation movement has had on Catholic institutions of higher learning. A section on the liberal arts college would also seem appropriate, especially since the book appears in the middle of a landslide toward the technical in education. As Bishop Wright recently reminded us in a talk which has significant bearing on the Catholic intellectual controversy, our liberal arts colleges have "a powerful contribution to make . . . to a generation crippled, famished by exclusive emphasis on the material and the physical and the bodily . . ." (St. Vincent College *Review*, January 21, 1959). And although they may not have fallen into its domain as parts of a strictly historical study of Catholic higher education in the United States, some studied opinions regarding the feasibility of large centralized Catholic institutions vs. small, scattered schools; the challenge of nearly one-half million Catholic students in secular institutions; and brief but informative sketches of the leaders in Catholic higher education and their contribution to American life would have added greatly to the perspective of the work.

It may also prove helpful to offer some minor corrections of a historical nature. On page 26, note 14 should read "first provincial council"; on page 27, St. Omer's should be in France, not Belgium; on page 34, note 21 should indicate that in 1843 Kenrick was a bishop, not an archbishop; pages 43 ff. should more clearly distinguish between St. Mary's Seminary and St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Gibbons was an archbishop, not a bishop in 1886 (p. 224); the same is true of Corrigan (p. 228); the author likewise implies that the law school of the Catholic University of America closed permanently (p. 252); Maréchal should be an archbishop, not a bishop (p. 261) and a similar designation should be supplied for Purcell (p. 285) and for Christie (p. 313). Furthermore, since the cost of the book is $7.00, it is disturbing to find that the publisher has allowed some mechanical mistakes to remain in the final version, e.g., the verb "was" does not agree with the subject "demands" (p. 95, l. 15); misspellings for "difficult" (p. 236, l. 19) and "technical" (p. 326). Something also should have been done to tighten up the author's style, which seems to reflect a

friendly, sometimes wry classroom manner, and not the precise, economical exposition which is more effective. A work as significant as that of Professor Power deserved more careful consideration as it was being readied for the printer.

If the above remarks seem generally negative, it is because a critical book must strive for impeccability itself, and not because this book does not deserve to be read. Indeed, Dr. Power's contribution, for all its repetitions and occasional paucity of documentation, e.g., pp. 90, ll. 7-8; 137, ll. 17-18; 168, seems destined to become the standard reference on Catholic higher education, especially since its valuable contents are augmented by a good index and five appendices (which take up 103 of the 383 pages). The author's frank treatment of our achievements and shortcomings, although not flattering in many aspects, is, nevertheless, itself a tribute to our predecessors, for as Thomas F. O'Dea has recently said: "Our present discussion . . . bears testimony to our growing ability for mature self-criticism. It is on the basis of the accomplishments of the past that the present discussion is possible" (*American Catholic Dilemma*, p. 83). Dr. Power's discussion should catch the ear of us all, for its many strident outbursts ring with truth, and should hurry us along to an effort that is more commendable, just as our present situation is more advantageous.

JOHN WHITNEY EVANS

Cathedral Senior High School
Duluth

Public Schools and Moral Education. The Influence of Horace Mann, William Torrey Harris, and John Dewey. By Neil Gerard McCluskey, S.J. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 315. $6.00.)

This excellent work on the history of moral education in public schools sets out to find the solution to the vexing problem of secularization in American public education and places the responsibility where it rightly belongs, viz., squarely on the shoulders of three individuals: Horace Mann, William Torrey Harris, and John Dewey. The influence exerted by these three men roughly spans the history of the public school system almost from its inception down to the present day—Mann (1776-1859); Harris (1835-1909); Dewey (1859-1952).

The author divides his work into three unequal sections. In the first part which forms the introduction, he briefly poses the problem—a common school for a pluralistic society. In the second section which comprises the bulk of the work, he analyzes the treatment of this problem of religious

pluralism in the public schools as proposed by the three above-mentioned educators. It is a concentrated study of the philosophy of values as found in the writings of Mann, Harris, and Dewey, each treated separately. Step by step the author shows that the radical change undergone by the common school in the course of its existence from the time of the founding fathers when public education rested upon a religious and moral foundation, to the totally secularized system of today, is the joint responsibility of these three men because of the strong influence their philosophy of education exerted during their lives and which is still felt at the present time. Horace Mann laid the foundation for the secularization of the public school in his "non-sectarian approach to religion in the common school." This was further developed by Harris who insisted that the school must attend exclusively to secular learning and as a consequence must be completely secularized. The pragmatism of Dewey completed the picture. Knowledge is doing. When applied to human conduct this false theory replaces the traditional moral and spiritual values with civic and social experiences. In the conclusion which forms the third section of this study, Father McCluskey gives "some meanings for today." He points out that after decades of experimenting the problem of moral education in public schools is still a baffling one, and that it is impossible to preserve any kind of traditional religion in the school as long as the practice exists of not teaching anything in faith and morals not acceptable to everyone. He concludes with the following prediction: "Unless serious efforts toward compromise succeed in modifying present patterns, the American public school will of necessity become increasingly secular. This in turn will continue to augment the percentage of children in non-public schools placed there by parents who desire some religious orientation in the formal education of their children" (p. 275).

This remarkable work of Father McCluskey is an outstanding contribution to the field of public education. It gives an adequate explanation to a dilemma in which the American people find themselves, the moral education of public school children belonging to a religiously pluralistic society. In one section, however, does there seem to be room for improvement, in the third part or conclusion. Since the moral education and character formation of our youth is of vital interest to all who have the good of the nation at heart, a prolonged and deeper study by the author himself would have greatly enhanced the value of this otherwise excellent study. The book contains a selective bibliography covering nearly twenty-eight pages of the writings of Mann, Harris, Dewey, and other sources.

LEONARD BACIGALUPO

Mount Alvernia Seminary
Wappingers Falls

The History of Mission San Jose, 1797-1835. By Francis Florence McCarthy. (Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1958. Pp. 285. $5.95.)

This excellent book brings out by careful research and documentation, one of the more important missions of the San Francisco Bay area that had not been treated individually by Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., before his death in 1934. Fortunately, Father McCarthy, engaged in parish work in and about Oakland, was interested in Mission San Jose, and was stationed close to the many original sources and transcripts preserved in the Bancroft Library. He also enjoyed access to the Taylor Collection in the archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco and the Franciscan archives at Mission Santa Barbara; but before he was able to put the work into manuscript form he died. After his death Father McCarthy's papers came into the hands of his sister, Sister Mary Serena of Dominican College, San Rafael. Encouraged by the late Herbert Eugene Bolton, she went ahead checking and ordering the manuscript which has been put through the press by Raymund F. Wood.

Mission San Jose lies eighteen miles up the East Bay Shore from the town and early pueblo of San Jose. It was founded on June 11, 1797, by the *presidente* of the missions, Fray Fermin Francisco Lasuén, where the Niles-Mission Canyon opens from the San Joaquin Valley on the waters of San Francisco Bay. The canyon itself became first the gateway east to the very numerous villages of the related Tulare Indians and later led the incoming Americans to Mission San Jose and on into the Santa Clara Valley. Thanks to the energy and foresight of the first friars in charge, Barcinella and Merino, and then to Father Fortuni, the material and spiritual opportunities of this ideal site were fully realized. Later the mission was brought to full maturity by the great missionary, Narciso Durán. It was he who guided and defended his 1,800 Indians during the peak period of the 1820's and who fought a rearguard action against the mission's gradual spoliation, material and spiritual, by the unworthy politicians of the 1830's and 1840's. The first baptism at Mission San Jose was performed by the visiting *padre ministro* of Santa Clara, Fray Magín Catalá, who was to be known as the Holy Man of Santa Clara. He entered the following record:

> Josefa, an adult from the Redwoods (north of San Leandro): On the 2nd of September, 1797, in the chapel of this Mission of San Jose, I baptized solemnly a gentile woman of about 24 years of age, whose name before baptism was Gilpae (Hilpá-ae). I gave her the name of *Josefa*. Her godmother was the mother of the Santos Gutierrez family, wife of Corporal Alejandro. I advised the godmother as to her duties; and in confirmation of this I sign myself,
>
> Fray Magín Catalá

Also of interest was the visit in 1827 of the American trapper, Jedediah Smith. The author exonerates him of responsibility for the serious revolts

of the mission Indians which developed after his stay and for the trading for furs of his men with the San Joaquin Valley Indians. The rifles, powder, and shot used by California Indians for the first time in these revolts may have been legitimate barter; but the guns in Indian hands were a costly surprise to the Spanish-Mexican soldiers. The first defection of the Mission San Jose Indians came in May, 1827. But far more serious was that of the autumn of 1828. The half-breed mission *mayor-domo,* Estanislao, aided by Cipriano of Mission Santa Clara, persuaded 500 Indian men and some women to remain in a mountain canyon with him instead of returning to the mission at the close of their month's vacation, a period allowed by the padres to half the mission population annually for nutting and visiting their mountain cousins. In a heavily wooded hill deep in the canyon now named for the event Estanislao's followers barricaded themselves with heavy stockades, rifles, and powder, and then sent a message in good Spanish defying the soldiers to come and get them. The account of this revolt and the three campaigns necessary to quell it is graphically presented by Father McGarthy from the diaries of soldier-members of the punitive expeditions. Some of these diaries were written at the time, others later from memory.

The details of this Estanislao tragedy reveal at once the compassion of the friars for their misguided charges, and the grave difficulties of mission administration which had to walk the tightrope between the sloth and pagan habits of the Indians, and the frequently arbitrary and sometimes cruel attitudes of Spanish-Mexican officialdom. The book is a well-rounded account of the mission's history and will be required reading for all *aficionados* of the epic period of the Golden State.

ARTHUR D. SPEARMAN

University of Santa Clara

Gabriel Richard: Frontier Ambassador. By Frank B. Woodford and Albert Hyma. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1958. Pp. xxv, 158. $4.50.)

A study in origins is always interesting; but when it deals with the turbulent frontier history of a settlement that has become a great American metropolis, it can be fascinating. Such is the setting in which the authors of this life of Father Gabriel Richard have viewed the career of the young Sulpician, designed to teach in a seminary in France, but destined to become one of America's noted Catholic missionaries. Obliged under obedience and by the violence of the French Revolution to flee from his native land, he came to the United States and among the rough characters on the frontier he championed the cause of religion and liberty with such vehemence that he was ever in the midst of controversy and turmoil. From

the end of 1792 to the early part of 1798 he labored in the French settlements on the Mississippi in and around Kaskaskia, but for the next thirty-four years his name is linked with the far-flung missions in the wilderness that was the Territory of Michigan and the old Northwest and inextricably interwoven with the history of Detroit.

The spiritual mission of Father Richard is traced in bold and admiring strokes; but his priestly zeal and his heroic self-sacrifice appear to be overshadowed by his active participation in the stirring events of the times. Such a picture of Richard may well portray his character. It explains his career, for he cannot be understood if viewed simply as a zealous and heroic missionary. He was a priest most assuredly, and a citizen, an educator, a patriot, a politician if you will, and, perhaps, a statesman—or better still, "frontier ambassador," as the authors style him. Prudence and moderation were rare on the frontier, and they were not notable in the life of Father Richard. He permitted his visions of the future to make him overreach himself. That may be the reason, still so mysterious, why he did not actually become the first Bishop of Detroit, for his nomination to the new diocese had been approved by Leo XII in 1827. His life, however, was not a failure; it was filled with achievement. He proved himself a zealous priest, devoted to his people, to their spiritual welfare, and to their best interests. But he was more than a priest. He not only rebuilt the church destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1805, but he also assisted in rebuilding the city. He established one of the first printing presses in Michigan, printed books, and attempted the publication of a newspaper. During the disaster that befell Detroit and its environs in the War of 1812, it was Father Richard who inspired and confirmed the loyalty of his French-speaking parishioners to the American cause; and it was he who supervised the distribution of relief contributed by a grateful Republic. He was a leader in education and acknowledged to be one of the co-founders of what has become the University of Michigan. His devotion to the Indians, more than anything else, prompted him to venture into politics—to assist in formulating an enlightened Indian policy. In consequence, he enjoys the unique distinction of having been the only priest to sit in the halls of Congress. And he ended his days a victim of his heroic ministrations to the cholera stricken in the dread epidemic of 1832.

The memory of Father Richard is well served in this scholarly and critical biography. If the authors have not portrayed him as a saint, they have indubitably shown him to have been something of a genius cast in an inspiring and heroic mold.

JAMES BERNARD WALKER

Saint Clara Academy
Sinsinawa

Heralds of the King: The Franciscans of the Saint Louis-Chicago Province, 1858-1958. By Marion A. Habig, O.F.M. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press. 1958. Pp. xxix, 856. $16.50.)

There were as of March, 1958, 728 members of the Franciscan friars' Sacred Heart Province and in the past century 547 members have died. This volume is a commemorative history of the province, marking its first centenary as a foundation in the United States. Ten of its forty chapters were written in whole or in part by priests other than the author. Although Father Marion disclaims any definitiveness for his remarkable volume, he surely has left very little unsaid. The scope of the book is, of necessity, considerable because the friars of the Sacred Heart Province have done a mighty work, not only in the central United States, but also in the Far East and Latin America. Their labors have extended into the fields of parochial endeavor, mission work, education, the press, and the preaching of parish missions and retreats.

The story is a long and inspiring one. Like many other religious orders the Friars Minor were expelled from Europe by the forces of bigotry, and in 1858 a group of priests and brothers came directly to southeastern Illinois. With them they brought the Franciscan tradition of poor men serving the poor, and this is the account of their growth and development as one of the largest provinces in their great order.

Obviously this has been a labor of love for the author, and to it he has brought a pleasant literary style and considerable professional acumen. In the eyes of the reader, however, there are several flaws. The proofreading was not thorough, and there are too many spelling errors in the text, e.g., the name of Stephen A. Douglas is spelled in two different ways on the same page (p. 25); and on page 50 the date 1958 should, of course, read 1858. And there are other errors of this sort. It is mentioned that Gorcum in Holland is famous for its Franciscan martyrs (p. 108). It might be added that among the martyrs of Gorcum, all canonized, were also Norbertines, secular priests, and an Augustinian and a Dominican.

Following a recent unfortunate trend, the author places the footnotes at the end of the book. But he goes a step further and omits footnote reference numbers in the text, and in the footnotes he does not cite the pages of the text to which the notes refer. The result is that the footnote references are all but useless. He states in an introduction to this section that ". . . even the reference numbers in the text are a distraction to many; and it is difficult to trace the notes from the end of a volume to the chapter and reference number to which they refer, even if one finger is kept in the text and one in the notes." A happy solution to this problem would have been to place the footnotes at the foot of each page! It is unfortunate that in catering to the tastes of "some readers" Father Marion has made the

results of his painstaking scholarship almost inaccessible to the serious scholar. It must also be said that the work would have been much more useful had it been put out in two volumes as the present volume is so heavy (poundwise) as to be impracticable. Likewise the red pencil could have been used to a far greater extent in the original manuscript, deleting extranea, especially in the first half of the work. Even in a definitive history it is difficult to see the importance of such details as what time of the day the first friars landed in New York, or the fact that they were greeted by the Little Sisters of the Poor, "waving *white* handkerchiefs." A facility at synthesis seems to be lacking, and the result makes for a verbosity out of place in a work of this type.

ROBERT E. CARSON

Saint Michael's Priory
Green Bay

Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham. By William G. McLoughlin, Jr. (New York: Ronald Press. Pp. vii, 551. $6.50.)

Some years ago the author, of the Department of History of Brown University, published a notable study of the baseball evangelist, Billy Sunday. Now he has widened the scope of his investigations of revivalism to include developments in that peculiar Protestant institution in the past century and a quarter. Rejecting the thesis that recurring revival movements are artificially manufactured by itinerant evangelists or automatically engendered by severe social crises, he finds that major revivals or "great awakenings" occur as the religious aspect of the nation's re-examination and re-definition of its social and intellectual values. The Second Great Awakening, reaching its climax and end with Finney in 1825-1835, was in its theological aspect a conflict between Calvinism and evangelical Arminianism. The resurgence of revivalism under Moody in 1875, and continuing to 1915 with Sunday, witnessed the clash of fundamentalism vs. liberalism. The present revival, the author believes, marks a renewed contest between modernism and neo-fundamentalism and neo-orthodoxy.

The author describes the increasing professionalism (if not commercialism) of the major evangelists, their interest in statistics, finance, recruitment of audiences, the techniques of psychological manipulation, and the uses of publicity. He analyzes the social conditions which prepared the way for the great preacher, his reception by the churches and the changes he forced upon them, the theological bases, and the social implications of his gospel. He maintains that the major revivalists are symbols and voices of protest against social change—voices, moreover, not well informed, usually reactionary, and always ineffectual. Revivals may once have brought large

numbers of recruits into the churches; they have degenerated, the author holds, into Protestant rallies. Obviously Dr. McLoughlin's views will be rejected in whole or in part by many religionists and historians. Yet his richly documented book is the most satisfying as well as the most challenging exposition yet to appear of an important institution in American religious history.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN

Loyola Seminary
Shrub Oak

My First Seventy Years. By Sister M. Madeleva, C.S.C. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1959. Pp. xii, 172. $3.50.)

This is the seventy-year odyssey of a gracious lady graciously told in warm reminiscent mood. It is a gentle story of a gentlewoman whose interesting life seems to have been played against warm, golden colors. There are no chilling greys. All the recorded memories, and they are many, are happy ones. There was a happy childhood in pastoral Wisconsin and youthful school days that presaged educational leadership in days to come. From her early years as a religious of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, Sister Madeleva seems to have possessed the proverbial silver spoon. Her opportunities for study and travel were unusual and she made admirable use of them. Many of the literary figures and educators whom she met during these years were to remain lifelong friends whose visits to Saint Mary's have given a special aura of distinction to that campus.

Most of Sister Madeleva's academic career has been spent at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, over which she has presided for a record-shattering period of twenty-five years. During this quarter of a century she has seen her college grow in stature and numbers until today hundreds of young and mature women around the globe have brought to hundreds of others the ideals that have been placed before them by one of the best-known Catholic educators in the United States. It has been her joy, as it is for anyone engaged in the education of young women, to watch the growth of her students from little girls to poised young women who later return to Saint Mary's as outstanding Christian wives, mothers, and professional women. The sacrifice and joy, the labor and rewards that this process entails are unfolded quietly and subtly in *My First Seventy Years.*

That Sister Madeleva has found time under the pressure of administrative duties and the demands of a heavy lecture schedule to continue her creative work is testimony to the miracle she is. Without doubt her faculty and students are the more excellent for having a literary president. She has chosen to pass lightly over the inevitable hardships and heartaches. No hint of self-pity mars this serene memoir. One could wish that the

autobiography gave less evidence of having been done rather hastily. It is not as profound as her influence has been, but it is a charming piece. A later volume will, perhaps, give her host of admirers a more meaty account of her life and work as student, teacher, administrator, and religious. May the second volume produce such a work.

SISTER M. AURELIA ALTENHOFEN

Rosary College

GENERAL HISTORY

Atlas of the Early Christian World. By F. Van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann. Translated and edited by Mary F. Hedlund and H. H. Rowley. (London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1958. Pp. 216. $15.00.)

In 1954 Father Van der Meer of the Catholic University of Nijmegen published an *Atlas of Western Civilization* in which maps, pictures, and accompanying text were combined to give a panoramic view, from a Christian standpoint, of western civilization from its origins in ancient Greece to the present time. Despite its ambitious scope, it was very favorably received. The volume under review, edited jointly by Father Van der Meer and a Nijmegen colleague, Christine Mohrmann, the distinguished specialist in Early Christian Latin, is much more limited in scope chronologically, but, from the scholarly angle, is a much more solid and important contribution. The book covers the development of Christianity in all its aspects from the first to the seventh century. It contains forty-two maps in color, 620 illustrations, a geographical index, an index of persons and things, an index of authors and inscriptions, notes to the maps, and an accompanying text or commentary.

The maps were prepared especially for this *Atlas* by Father Van der Meer. They furnish data not only on the expansion of Christianity as revealed by the establishment of episcopal sees, monasteries, etc., but also on the rise of Christian literature in East and West, on Christian monuments, on memorial churches of the martyrs, and on the pilgrimage of Egeria to the Holy Places. Furthermore, the civil administration under the principate and under the dominate is presented in detail—provinces, dioceses, and prefectures—a knowledge of which is so important for a proper understanding of the development of ecclesiastical administration itself. There are also a map of the churches of Persia and the neighboring countries, a map illustrating the life of St. Augustine, and maps of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Ravenna.

The commentary is divided into three main parts: The Church of the Martyrs A.D. 30-313, The Church of the Empire A.D. 313-600, and The

Fathers and Early Christian Literature, with sub-divisions under Parts I and II. A special and unique feature of the commentary is the systematic quotation of appropriate passages from the writings of the first six centuries to reveal attitudes, beliefs, and motives as exhibited by contemporaries themselves. The copious well-chosen and well-executed illustrations are grouped in systematic fashion under the respective parts and sub-divisions. Thus maps, illustrations, and commentary in integrated combination give the reader a vivid, comprehensive—and authoritative—historical view of all aspects of the Church's life and work century by century to the early Middle Ages. The book, in the original Dutch edition, which is reproduced by Nelson with an English text, was published by the famous Elsevier Press of Amsterdam. This is a sufficient explanation for the beauty of its arrangement and typography.

A few criticisms are in order. The colors in the maps are rather faint, at least under artificial light. However, all names can be more easily read, and this is, perhaps, more important. On Map 37 there is a mistake in the scale: for "500 miles," one should read 500 meters or a fraction of a mile. There are slips in the translation of several inscriptions, but most of these are minor and can easily be taken care of in a second edition. In the table of contents and on page 66, it might be well to replace the awkward and unusual term "epigones" by "successors" as a designation for the sons of Constantine and their successors. But such criticisms are of minor significance. The *Atlas of the Early Christian World* is warmly recommended as a splendid reference work for seminaries, colleges, and universities. It could also serve admirably as a picture book in the higher sense for history teachers and their pupils in secondary schools. As in the case of the *Atlas of Western Civilization*, it would make an ideal gift book for libraries or for individuals.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

August Benziger, Portrait Painter. By Marieli Benziger assisted by Rita Benziger. (Glendale, California: Arthur Clark Co. 1958. Pp. 485. $16.00.)

The author divides the biography of her father into three parts: "Background and Growth," "A Portrait Painter on Two Continents," and "American Portraitist and the Closing Years." The opening chapters give the Benziger family background in the little mountain town of Einsiedln made famous by its Benedictine abbey and the celebrated shrine of Our Lady. It was there that August was born in 1867, son of Aldrich, a widely known publisher. With a view to the publishing business, Aldrich felt that

his son should be well prepared in languages, art, painting, and lithography and with that in mind he sent him to school at Downside Abbey in England, then to Ghent, Brussels, Geneva, Munich, and Vienna. August's interest and talent lay in portrait painting and he told his father that he wished to go to the Académie Julien in Paris, which caused a break between them. In Paris he found an attic studio where he studied and worked feverishly, and where a family friend discovered him and took him to his home where he set up a studio for him. In May, 1892, he received first prize at the Salon des Champs Elysée for two portraits and he was awarded the Légion d'Honneur.

At the Salon of the Circle Artistique et Littéraire, Benziger submitted the portrait of his mother, and drew the compliments of Léon Bonnat, the great portraitist, for his genius in bringing out the soul and personality of his subjects in the eyes of the portraits, for the use of colors, and for the rich tones which resembled the old Flemish masters. Young Benziger told him that he had taken Holbein as his ideal. Bonnat invited him to be his pupil in portraiture at the Académie des Beaux Arts which was an honor for an outsider. Benziger's father, now reconciled, encouraged August to go to America, which he did in 1896. He did three portraits for the family of Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., in Pittsburgh, and for many others in Chicago, among which was one of Gertrude Lytton whom he was later to marry. On July 5, 1898, he and Miss Lytton, who became a Catholic, were married by Archbishop Corrigan at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. August painted the portraits of popes, cardinals, presidents, and prominent business men. He and his family came to the United States at the outbreak of World War I and it was during these years that he did his finest work, one of his best portraits being that of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post and her children. He had become fond of this country and in 1947 he returned to pass his last years in New York. Benziger became an American citizen in 1951 and died on April 13, 1955.

This over-sized book, 7x10½, is a bit frightening at first glance, but it is a well written story of an artist whose unusual life reads like a novel. The author spent thirteen years compiling and arranging the material for the biography of her father. She had a wealth of material with which to work, indication of which is given in the extensive bibliography. Over the years in her conversations with her father she noted down interesting incidents, and a further help was the fact that he had saved most of his correspondence, his carefully annotated address books, and his copious diaries. The illustrations, forty-two in all, greatly add to the attractiveness of the work, and the small sketches from the notebooks are particularly beautiful. The author has skillfully selected and woven this material into an absorbing biography not only of a great artist but of a man who loved

people and who, in turn, won a host of friends. Incidentally, the author speaks of Pope Pius XI as the successor of Pius X, whereas he was the immediate successor of Benedict XV (p. 445).

CHARLES E. FITZGERALD

Holy Family Church
New Rochelle

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

King James IV of Scotland. By R. L. Mackie. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Fairlawn, New Jersey: Essential Books. 1958. Pp. xii, 300. $4.50.)

Students of English history frequently find themselves handicapped by an inadequate knowledge of mediaeval Scottish history. Except for the wars between the two kingdoms, Scotland has generally received brief treatment in both classroom and text. R. L. Mackie's *King James IV of Scotland,* which introduces us to the northern kingdom in the late Middle Ages, explains this widespread neglect of Scottish studies: Scotland played only a minor role in late mediaeval affairs and scarcely affected the development of European cultural life.

Although not lengthy, one finds the book to be slow reading. It contains extensive quotations from the late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century Scots dialect, which require considerable rereading and interrupt the theme of the book and the pleasure of reading it. On the other hand, the theme is timely. It treats a neglected field with obvious care, assisted by good maps and illustrations. The author has based his study upon printed primary sources; he is well acquainted with the important secondary works and very evidently knows Scotland with intimacy and feeling. In the brief preface Mackie explains that his purpose is to treat more of social than constitutional history, since the late R. K. Hannay adequately dealt with the latter. Since data for a biography of James IV do not appear to be abundant, some of his life, especially his early years, had to be conjectured. But the factors which shaped his career are not difficult to understand, because Mackie writes clearly about the backwardness and poverty of contemporary Scotland, its isolation from currents of trade, politics, and culture, and its lack of monuments of great artistic value.

The picture, however, is not wholly gloomy. Scotland enjoyed a period of comparative internal peace from 1385 to the battle of Flodden in 1513, which produced some material prosperity. Political instability was never completely absent: it marked both the reign of James IV and of his father, James III, who had been the victim of an uprising against him of which his son was a participant, perhaps unwillingly. A few phrases describe much of the new king's life subsequent to that deed: his was an unregulated

youth with libertine habits alternating with a ferocious piety; local disorders and treason were repeated constantly, partly due to the mediocre ability of the king; he laid the foundation for the solution of Scotland's problems by marrying Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII.

This reviewer especially recommends the chapters dealing with economic and social conditions, with the structure of government, and with cultural and religious life. These are presented with vividness and a wealth of detail, and the description of the prevailing spiritual poverty—the widespread neglect, ignorance, and venality of the clergy—helps one to understand why Calvinism so quickly dominated Scotland. The last four chapters are devoted to the events leading to the disastrous battle of Flodden, September 9, 1513, in which James IV perished. Mackie feels that this extinguished a period in which Scotland was maturing culturally and politically, sacrificing on the battlefield the promising flower of Scottish youth.

WILLIAM R. TRIMBLE

Loyola University
Chicago

The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought. By J. H. M. Salmon. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 202. $4.00.)

Those who read Professor Salmon's book will find it heavy going. As I read it, the author has advanced two theses. He proves that from about 1585 to the turn of the eighteenth century English political thought was conditioned by the opinions of French political theoreticians such as Bodin, Hotman, Daneau, and others. These writings continually influenced Englishmen who found parallels to their political and religious crises in the experience of the French religious wars. In addition, Salmon suggests that the liberal ideas born during the French religious wars "fertilized the ground of English politics" so thoroughly that one can no longer fully accept the traditional belief that the philosophical ideals of the French and American revolutions developed from the English seventeenth-century constitutional crises.

Anglican royalists, Puritan pamphleteers, and Presbyterian independents, among others, used passages taken from French political treatises to justify their actions against religious and political opponents, e.g., John Pym warned King Charles of the ominous fate which befell the French kings Henri III and Henri IV. William Prynne's *Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* was replete with quotations from French writers who challenged absolute monarchy. The Stuart apologist Edward Symmons saw the similarity between the rebellion of the Holy League in France against

Henri III, and the New Model Army's attack on Charles I. Likewise, the Presbyterians found the Huguenot justification of resistance to a ruler who had violated political covenants with his people to apply equally as well to their revolt against the crown. Other incidents in the French wars were employed by the Whigs to support their position against James II during the exclusion crisis. Salmon also shows that even John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* incorporated French ideas that had been publicized in England through the intermediary writings of Grotius.

Although Professor Salmon is convincing in pointing out the influence of French writers upon English political thought, he falls short in substantiating a thesis that the political experience of seventeenth-century England was but one link in the developmental chain of modern political liberalism. This theme, an excitingly fresh approach to an old constitutional question, is introduced in the conclusion as though it were an afterthought. Moreover, in devoting too much space to seemingly endless titles of French publications (which might have been included in an appendix together with the list of French works published in England from 1560 to 1598), Salmon has unduly lengthened his book and obscured its theses. Stylistically speaking, I have not encountered as dull a book since reading J. N. Figgis' *Divine Right of Kings.*

MARTIN J. HAVRAN

Kent State University

Mountjoy. 1563-1606. The Last Elizabethan Deputy. By Frederick M. Jones. (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, Ltd. 1958. Pp. 232. 21/.)

"Go into the length and breadth of the world," Mr. Gladstone once told the House of Commons, "ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single voice, a single book, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation." The lofty moral tone of these words did not disguise the speaker's awareness of another, more practical consideration: the failure to pacify the Irish people was in Gladstone's day, and had been for centuries, a grievous drag upon their English conquerors. The achievement of the last Tudor viceroy, therefore, deserves attention, because, whatever the morality of his objective or means, he at least brought success to an office in which failure was commonplace.

Charles Blount, second son of the sixth Lord Mountjoy, determined early in life to restore the fortunes of his ancient but impoverished house. A thoughtful but spirited young man, and blessed as well with good manners and a certain amount of tact, he became a favorite of the aging Elizabeth almost from his first appearance at court. He served with some distinction in the Netherlands (he was knighted on the field by Leicester in 1587),

and at the approach of the Armada he commanded a man-of-war in Essex's squadron. Early in 1594 he succeeded to the family title as eighth Lord Mountjoy. A few weeks later the queen capped the other remunerative offices she had already given him with the governorship of Portsmouth. In 1597 he accompanied Essex on the calamitous expedition to the Azores, and the following year, after the disaster at Blackwater, it was widely rumored that he was to be sent to Ireland as deputy. Essex, however, received the appointment, and only after the latter's return and disgrace did the mantle fall upon Mountjoy's shoulders (November, 1599). The success of O'Neil's rebellion made the position an unenviable one, but Mountjoy, during the three years he spent in Ireland, so skillfully combined military ability with the arts of diplomacy that by the time of his recall (May, 1603) Ireland was once more under effective English control and O'Neil a prisoner. Elizabeth's successor received the conqueror very warmly, created him Earl of Devonshire and named him to the Privy Council. The new earl basked in the sunlight of royal favor until December, 1605, when, ironically, his "marriage" to his mistress of fifteen years (the ceremony having been witnessed by a young clergyman named William Laud) was judged a breach of morality by the court. He died a few months later on April 3, 1606, at the age of forty-three.

This book is not in any sense what its dust jacket advertisement suggests it to be, "an adequate biography" of Mountjoy; therefore, the second part of its title should be carefully noted. Father Jones is concerned chiefly with Mountjoy's spectacularly successful military operations in Ireland. Thus, while he devotes almost a quarter of his narrative to the Kinsale campaign of 1601, the author takes but six pages to describe the last three years of Mountjoy's life, crowded as they were with diplomatic and administrative duties of great moment, with the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh and with the affair of Penelope Rich. This reader was left with anything but a complete picture of Mountjoy's relationship with Essex or with Robert Cecil, or of his part in the intrigues carried on with James Stuart before 1600. The author displays also a weakness for cliché, and, more alarming, a tendency to quote authorities of quite various worth with equal solemnity. Several interesting plates are included in the book, as well as four appendices, an impressive bibliography and an index.

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL

College of St. Thomas

The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain. By Richard Herr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 484. $7.50.)

This book was taken up with considerable enthusiasm, for its title promised much, and the chapter headings offered such attractive material

as "Regalism and Jansenism in Spain," "The Enlightenment in Spain," "Industrial Renaissance and Stagnation," "The Channels of Enlightenment," "The Birth of the Liberal Tradition," "Jovellanos, Urquijo, and the Jansenist Offensive." It parts company with the reader on a final note of "New Unity and New Disunity." But after long and careful examination —the book is slow reading, often for its many learned excellences—the result is disappointing.

There is no questioning the extensive and meticulous use made of sources, particularly in Spanish publications during the designated period (1768-1808). Records of the old Inquisition were open to the author and he worked them assiduously. Periodical and brochure literature find voluminous citation, and from first-hand acquaintance. Important characters who left diaries of journals—Aranda, Cabarrus, Campomanes, Floridablanca, Godoy, Jovellanos, to mention a few—take on a clarity and emphasis much desired by inquiring students. Works of French propaganda, of Spanish clubs and academies, of professors and students, provide new or expanded information on leaders of opinion.

And yet, in more difficult matters, there is a singular lack of materials. The roots of this "revolution" lie in the 1750's. Everybody would like to know about the circle around Charles III that so changed the outlook of politics in the country and projected their influence into the years under study. The scholarly name of Manuel Gimenez Fernandez does not appear in text or bibliography, although he published shortly before 1950 thorough studies in the personal correspondence that passed between Aranda, Bucareli, Eleta, the poor Ribadeneyra, Wall, and in general among the *Golillos* who set the entire stage. It is true that this matter anticipates the limits assigned for the book. But the very title challenges criticism, and this reviewer for one would venture the opinion that "The Revolution," if there was any revolution at all in eighteenth-century Spain, had already taken place before 1768, and that this volume merely extends what was well entrenched by that date.

Certainly the Enlightenment entered Spain before 1768, in its political and moral phases. Yet Herr could not find evidence of the lodges in those years. (Page 326, note 42, states: "I have seen no indication of freemasonry in Spain before Napoleon's invasion in 1808 [*sic!*] and feel confident there was none.") Reform in college and university studies entered Spain and Spanish America well before that time, as had "reform" in the political approach to economics. His concern is with Adam Smith, Condorcet, Gregoire, Rousseau and the new educationists beyond the Pyrenees, and this seems to be his best contribution. In polite letters he is less interested.

What puzzles one most is the author's meaning in the word "revolution," or, in another approach: what is his point of view? There is no shortage of

black sheep in his categories: ultramontanism, the authority of Rome, Jesuits, Inquisition, scholasticism, wear sable robes, along with one "half-blind official"—unnamed—which type he seems to dislike (p. 419). On all these topics, so extensive and yet quite knowable after long and patient reading, his acquaintance is confessedly (p. vii) light, and his feelings seem to flow rather from inherited prepossessions than from inquiry. On the other side, his "friends" suffer from lack of exact dimensions, and some escape mention. A certain Bishop of Osma, Fray Joaquin Eleta (1707-1788), is believedly credited with policies here attributed to better known but less powerful personages. The beloved Jansenists avoid definition until on page 410 the author abandons the unhistorical pose that a Jansenist is one whom a Jesuit dislikes, and *vice versa*. At that point, in the chapter on the Jansenist offensive, Herr correctly describes them as "opponents of the authority of Rome." From the dedication of the book to his eminent major professor, who so thoroughly treated them in his *French Revolution*, one would expect him to be quite aware of the role taken by those followers of the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*.

Perhaps, the title should include the word "intellectual," to save the reader from looking for a political upheaval. Much did happen in that sector of the late Spanish 1700's, but if one may gauge it all by its fruits in the Constitution of Cádiz, it was a revolution in a teapot. The idea still persists that what overthrew the Spain crystallized by Philip II was regalism, the pasty selflessness in creatures such as Ribadeneyra, the swelling omnipotence of *"El beato pernicioso,"* as Menéndez Pelayo dubbed Charles III, the canny direction of affairs by Eleta, and the ruffed dandies who led Charles IV to surrender his kingship at Bayonne.

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University
Cincinnati

Journeys to England and Ireland. By Alexis de Tocqueville. Translated by George Lawrence and K. P. Mayer; edited by J. P. Mayer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. 243. $4.50.)

Here for the first time Alexis de Tocqueville's notebooks on England and Ireland appear in English. " 'I am Alexis de Tocqueville and I have just made your acquaintance.' " With these words a twenty-six-year-old French lawyer, who was working on his *Democracy in America*, presented himself to the well known economist, Nassau Senior. Within five weeks the young Frenchman had visited Parliament and Oxford, attended election meetings and magistrate's court, and seen the slums of Manchester, the factories of Birmingham, and the beautiful town of Liverpool. Presumably he had also

met the family of Mary Mottley whom he was to marry in 1836. He describes the election as a saturnalia of English liberty, paints a woeful picture of Wellington in the House of Lords, is deeply affected by an orator, and finds nothing more detestable than criminal investigation police in England. From his observations and conversations he draws many provocative conclusions. De Tocqueville returned to England in 1835 as the famous author of the first two volumes of *Democracy in America* and again in 1857.

However, the most fascinating part of the book under review consists of his observations on Ireland which he visited in the summer of 1835. Here he followed his usual procedure of journeying about the country and talking with a cross section of its inhabitants from Catholic bishops to Orange barristers and chance acquaintances. With quick, sure strokes he sketches an unforgettable picture of the contrasts in Ireland from the appalling conditions of the poorhouse to the opulence of the university founded on land confiscated from the fathers of the poorhouse inmates. Through his eyes one sees Irish farm products going to England while Irishmen eat potatoes. "Who feeds the poor?" asks the Bishop of Kilkenny. "The poor. The wretch who has only 100 bushels of potatoes for himself and his family, gives fifty of them to the even more wretched men who present themselves hungry at the door of his cottage. The rich man looks at the poor from over the top of the walls of his splendid park, or if he meets him on the road, he answers his entreaties saying, 'I make it a duty not to give anything to those who do not work.' And he gives them no work. He has big fat dogs and his like die at his door." At Newport—Pratt, de Tocqueville finds the parish priest vainly seeking to alleviate the hunger of several hundred poor wretches while "On the nearby meadows the Marquis of Sligo has a thousand sheep and several of his granaries are full." This was ten years before the famine of 1845. No wonder de Tocqueville advises, "If you want to know what can be done by the spirit of conquest and religious hatred combined with the abuses of aristocracy, but without any of its advantages, go to Ireland." The book is marred by several errors in dates, one appearing even on the jacket.

SISTER M. LORETTA CLAIRE DUNN

Caldwell College

Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900. By Arnold Schrier. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. x, 210. $4.50.)

There were Irish emigrants before the Great Famine, and many who left Ireland were not drawn toward America. Yet Arnold Schrier, in selecting for a doctoral thesis the impact on Ireland of emigration to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, has certainly

concentrated upon the main trends of the Irish movement. Let it be said at once that he has accredited himself with distinction, as a careful and methodical research worker who displays a competent ability to analyze his material within an academic framework and to present it attractively. His thesis certainly deserves publication, although the price at which it has been put on the market is, perhaps, a little high.

Dr. Schrier's delimitation of the field somewhat restricts the value of his work historically. Ireland and the United States should not be described co-relatively as "countries." Politically and economically they were not analagous units in the late nineteenth century. The demographic movements from Europe which colonized the North American eastern seaboard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries linked it economically to the kingdoms of western Europe. Politically, Ireland's insular position in close association with Scotland and England occasioned the growth of a colonial attitude toward the New England colonies which persisted after they became the United States. Economically the link with the new world was not broken when in 1801 Ireland became part of the United Kingdom. But Dr. Schrier's failure to think out the consequences reduces the validity of his thesis. Thus he is not concerned with establishing a date when the lure of America was first apparent in Ireland, or why the main migration in the early part of the nineteenth century was to Britain. If the author had utilized the Irish-American newspapers he might have realized that it was the resentment of vested interests against Catholic Emancipation which made emigration a political issue between the upholders of the British conquest and the advocates of Irish self-government.

In his search for sources Dr. Schrier was fortunate to have at his disposal the reports of twenty-two trained investigators of the Irish Folklore Commission who edited and in some cases translated from Irish, the statements of surviving witnesses of the pre-1900 migration. These statements were made in response to a questionnaire drafted by Dr. Schrier, who also made a personal investigation of this type of material. One would naturally prefer that such material were given in full, as it can never be so effective as when the original sources can be studied in their own context. This folk material represents the accumulated recollections of the Irish reaction to the migration. There are, of course, limits to its use, and notably so in regard to date. One cannot expect any clear distinction to be preserved between the years immediately before and after 1900.

In contrast are the emigrants' letters from America of which the author secured some 200. Their significance also would best emerge if presented in their successive historical sequence. The extracts given by the author suggest that these letters have given him less atmosphere than have the Folklore Commission's witnesses. Perhaps, this is a one-sided view, as here

we only see these unsophisticated people in the context of a closely-reasoned and somewhat artificial analysis. But this should not preclude us from welcoming Dr. Schrier's pioneer study as a useful contribution to Irish-American studies.

R. DUDLEY EDWARDS

University College
Dublin

The Italian Socialist Movement. I: *Origins (1860-1882).* By Richard Hostetter. (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co. 1958. Pp. xii, 444. $6.50.)

This richly-documented account of the development of the Italian revolutionary Left from the mid-nineteenth century to the emergence of a political socialist movement is the first of Dr. Hostetter's three projected volumes. Of course, the title socialist "movement" scarcely applies to these early years. The aspirations, conspiracies, and mutual recriminations of the many visionaries and extremists who fill these pages bear only a faint resemblance to a "movement." Because of this fundamental difficulty, little unity and force exist in the early chapters on "The Social Question and the Making of Italy," "The Piedmontese and Mazzinian Labor Traditions," "Mazzini and the Italian Labor Movement," etc. Dr. Hostetter has his subject in sharp focus in his later chapters, especially "Disintegration of the Anarchist International as an Organization" and "The Ideological Liquidation of the Italian International (1879-1882)."

The men who played a major role in preparing the way for the socialist movement—though they are obscured occasionally by the drab story of secondary figures—include Carlo Pisacane, Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Michael Bakunin, and his follower Carlo Cafiero, and Andrea Costa. Despite an extended treatment of Mazzini, "the spiritual father of the Italian Left," the author fails, in the judgment of this reviewer, to make this dynamic person come alive. Mazzini urged Italians to achieve national unity under a republic before resolving the social question without violence. The clash between Mazzini and Garibaldi in viewing social radicalism is neatly described. When the communards raised their barricades in 1871, Garibaldi applauded, while Mazzini lamented the loss of a moral sense by workers who reflected the materialism at the heart of French socialism. Opposed to both these giants of the Italian Left—as well as to the influence of the London General Council which was dominated by Marx and Engel—was the anarchist Bakunin. His sojourn in the peninsula and cultivation of allies was aimed at social revolution. The failure of various plots, especially that of 1877, strengthened the position of "legalitarians" and Marxists who wanted to shift emphasis from violence to trade unionism and political action. The decisive defection among the ranks of Italian

anarchists was that of Costa, who voiced their dilemma: "insurrectionism, if practiced, leads to nothing if not the triumph of reaction and, if not practiced, it leads to the disesteem of him who preaches it and it remains merely verbal." This defection symbolized the loss of primacy among the militant radicals by the anarchists.

It is to be regretted that this useful book which makes available in English materials hitherto found only in Italian and other foreign sources was not phrased more felicitously. Further, the presentation is marred by some judgments such as the statement that the middle class advocated national unity in order to satisfy "its natural need for economic expansion." And in the matter of the measures taken by the Italian government in the early 1870's against insurrectionists, it is surprising to find this passage: "The Moderates' spirit of legality—inherent in their liberal creed—that prompted the French Ambassador to assure Paris that the Rome government would take no extraordinary measures against the Jesuits, was the same spirit animating those leaders when they undertook action—more maladroit than malign—against the anarchists only when the latter adopted violence as the primary means of propagating their doctrines"!

GAETANO L. VINCITORIO

St. John's University
New York

Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Band 10. Herausgegeben von der Generaldirektion. (Wien: Druck und Verlag Ferdinand Berges. 1957. Pp. viii, 554.)

This issue of the *Mitteilungen* of the Austrian State Archive contains many substantial articles, but limitations of space will restrict this review to comments on a few which appear broader in scope and appeal than the others.

Students of German court life, culture, and diplomacy may well be interested in the travel journal kept by Count von Seckendorff, the Austrian ambassador to Prussia, on his diplomatic tour with King Frederick William I in 1730. The journal points up the painful tension between the Prussian king and his son, the future Frederick the Great, and also reveals what an undiplomatic diplomat the soldier king was. Hans Wagner is to be commended for his careful editing.

Julius Marx's article on the rapid expansion and decline of the Austrian temperance movement in the 1840's also tells much about the government and the relations between Church and State. Austrian officials were overly concerned about the possible political consequences of the temperance

movement, its effect upon taxes, and the role of the clergy in the societies. The clergy conceived of the movement in essentially ecclesiastical terms and did not aid the societies in securing a character and organization of their own. Though Marx does not even explore this question, one wonders if the hierarchy's lack of participation was due to excessive deference toward the government's attitude. In any event, the confusion over aims, the lack of organization, and the attitudes of the authorities soon told on a once promising undertaking on behalf of the masses.

Solid contributions toward a fuller understanding of Bismarck's diplomacy toward the Vatican in the early Kulturkampf and of Austria's relations with the papacy throughout the 1870's have been respectively made by Erika Weinzierl-Fischer and Friedrich Engel-Janosi. Miss Weinzierl shows how the German chancellor initially sought to appear in a favorable light with the Roman Curia and with German Catholics by trying on the one hand to push Catholic governments into a position of actual protest against the definition of papal infallibility while the Protestant German government refused to support such a protest. The author indicates that Bismarck's decision to turn against the Church was motivated, as far as Austrian diplomats could determine, by concern over the stand that the Center Party and the curia took on the Roman Question and on constitutional issues in Germany; not, as Bismarck claimed, by the Polish issue. The Engel-Janosi article brings out the role played by Andrassy, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Secretary from 1871 to 1879, in the cool relations between the imperial government and the papacy. Andrassy himself said he shared Bismarck's view of the respective positions of the State and Church and was primarily concerned with preserving close relations with Germany and Italy. His reminders to Francis Joseph that Pius IX had earlier favored Italian unification and that the papal legate had led King Louis of Hungary into the fatal battle of Mohacs in 1527 suggest that Andrassy was not absolutely confident of his master's support.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

University of Massachusetts

AMERICAN HISTORY

Higher Education in Transition. An American History: 1636-1956. By John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy. (New York: Harper & Bros., Inc. Pp. viii, 494. $7.50.)

American higher education has a long and complicated history. In the 323 years since the founding of Harvard College probably more than 3,000 institutions of higher learning have come into existence. Many of these schools did not survive, but those that did showed little willingness to

create, or conform to, a set pattern for institutional growth. There was a variety of purposes—often evident in a single institution—and it is difficult, if not impossible, to find any college that developed, or committed itself to, a carefully worked-out, clear, and consistent theory of higher studies. The absence of an American philosophy of higher education is both surprising and disappointing.

Most of the first colleges in English America were concerned principally with the preparation of ministers. As time passed and as society made new demands on higher education, some early colleges liberalized their curricula and broadened their objectives. Regardless of the efforts made by old colleges to remodel themselves, they could not forestall the coming of another kind of higher education—the publicly-controlled college. So American higher education, from as early as the first part of the nineteenth century, developed within the framework of a dual system.

Denominationally-related colleges and public, nominally-non-sectarian colleges increased in number, and some of them prospered, but they grew as untilled garden plants grow. Colleges choked one another. Many with weak beginnings became weaker, others died. Or as in a garden-variety battle for survival, some over-extended themselves just to get a ray of sunshine. How valuable is the use of analogy here? For one may wonder if the principle of survival of the fittest was always operating! Whether American higher education matured or just grew older, is a subject for debate. There is, it seems, no reason to doubt that some American universities have attained a posture of excellence that higher institutions the world over may envy. Still, these same schools are often—even with their fine reputations for academic excellence—uncertain whether their security is to be found in scholarship of high quality or in athletic teams with national appeal.

The large story of American higher education—its academic, social, economic, organizational, and extracurricular evolution—is told in *Higher Education in Transition*. If this book were no more than adequate, it would have a great deal of merit. But Brubacher and Rudy have written a magnificent volume and in doing so have made an extraordinary contribution to historical and educational scholarship. They have achieved, moreover, something of the distinction of pioneers, for this volume is really the first of its kind.

There are, however, a few minor shortcomings: the organization, though generally sound, sometimes makes for undue repetition or for a slight bending of history to fit the book's structure. E.g., Chapter 11, though formally concerned with the federal government and higher education in the nineteenth century, deals with a number of items that obviously belong to the twentieth century. Readers interested in Catholic higher edu-

cation may wonder why Catholic schools were not given more attention. This reviewer finds no fault with the authors on this point. It would seem that in this book Catholic colleges occupy about the same position they may rightfully claim in history.

A few inaccuracies in Catholic college statistics may be found (p. 73): Twenty-eight not fourteen permanent Catholic colleges were founded by 1860; fifty-seven not sixty-three by the turn of the century; 112 not 126 by 1930. The college denied a charter in the middle of the nineteenth century was Holy Cross not Boston College. All Catholic colleges were not founded and conducted by the clergy: three—Calvert College, New Windsor, Maryland; Cecil College, Elizabethtown, Kentucky; and Polytechnic and Commercial College of the Catholic Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio—were founded and/or conducted by laymen. These points, it should be reemphasized, are minor and do not materially impair the stature of this fine book. The index is thorough. In putting the footnotes in the back the book's designers made inaccessible important, often essential, data. In a scholarly volume this is too much to sacrifice for a clean, unbroken page.

EDWARD J. POWER

University of Detroit

Thomas Worthington. By Alfred B. Sears. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 260. $5.50.)

In these days when anxious Americans look more and more toward the founding fathers for indications of prophesy directed toward our generation, it suddenly occurs to us to ask who were the founding fathers? By whom were they supported? Surely the names of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, and the elder Adams come to mind immediately as the nucleus of the group. Professor Sears of the University of Oklahoma has provided in his biography of Thomas Worthington, whom he designates as father of Ohio statehood, the life and background of a man who was well acquainted with the founding fathers of the Republic and who surely could be called one of their supporters. Yet because he was a member of that group of early nineteenth-century Americans called "internalists," i.e., those on the western side of the Appalachians who stood strongly behind Jefferson's states' rights philosophy of government, he was frequently at odds with the men whom he most ardently admired, particularly James Madison.

Born in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia), Worthington was destined to become a colonist in the wilderness of Ohio when "the wilderness was no place to boast of gentle blood; God, not the King, was the arbiter of the destinies of men here." Yet the Quaker records of Eng-

land, Ireland, and America show the Worthington forebears to have been upright civic-minded citizens in the communities in which they lived. "They let their daily actions reflect that moral rectitude and excellence of breeding to which the Society of Friends laid modest claim." Tracing Worthington's life closely from his migration to the Ohio Country in 1795 until his death in 1827, his biographer has shown that the "gentle blood" of Worthington, plus a strong spiritual life, were the comprehensive factors explaining his steadfast consistency and foresight in his local and national accomplishments. He was a territorial legislator and principal promotor of Ohio statehood which was achieved in 1803. This same consistency and foresight were evident in the roles he played as the framer of the state constitution, as Ohio's first United States Senator, and later as the twice-elected governor of the state.

During the time that Worthington held public office the chief issues of the day were the distribution of public lands, the Bank of the United States, roads, and, of course, slavery. On the land question, Worthington did not want to reduce the value of public lands to the tax value in the case of delinquency, but rather wanted to indemnify states for back tax and still maintain the land value. He played an important role in bringing the Cumberland Road over public land to Wheeling on the Ohio. Always a "hard money" man, he wanted no paper currency based on notes. While Worthington followed the contemporary trend in opposing Negro voting franchise in Ohio, he won a hard fought battle in preventing Virginia settlers from bringing their slaves into the state, and he aroused the wrath of John Randolph in the United States Senate by speaking against slavery in the South. He never anticipated a war over slavery, however, feeling that the whole slave system would collapse from inherent weakness.

Altogether, this book is an extremely well documented account of the life and times of a true American statesman set against a background that has been somewhat neglected by historians. Thomas Worthington was a man whose scholarly interest in the problems of government and whose support of the founding fathers might well be emulated by American statesmen of any age.

NELSON CALLAHAN

St. John College
Cleveland

The Great Chicago Fire. By Robert Cromie. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. xi, 282. $5.00.)

An historian's appraisal of this work of Robert Cromie is bound to be quite different from that of the professional book reviewer whose reading tastes, although manifold and diversified, would cause him to search out

other criteria to judge the quality of the book. It may, therefore, be questioned whether it is an accurate account of an important historical event or a fairly accurate narrative story embellished with many human interest tales, some precisely reported and others bordering on the fictional. The standards utilized by the latter may extol the book because of the way in which the story as told by the writer carries its reader along on a rapidly moving current of events. While the author expresses his debt of gratitude to the personnel of the Chicago Historical Society for the use of its records and pictures, and to many persons whose ancestors undoubtedly preserved memorials or accounts of first-hand observation of the holocaust, the book is devoid of reference material or notes. The means for checking the author's sources, except for those acknowledged in the beginning of the book, are non-existent. For the average reader, not always too concerned with problems of internal and external criticism, his reading of this fast-moving account of the Chicago fire is unhampered by footnotes. Perhaps, it is this that recommends itself to the average reader already weighted down by a heavy reading schedule of best sellers. As a piece of newspaper reporting the book ranks exceptionally high. It would be unfair to say that the writer has failed to approach the story with the objectivity required of the historian; but the reader who has been exposed to the problems of research would feel on surer ground with the help of an occasional specific reference.

The myth surrounding the details of the specific causes of the Chicago fire is very well exposed for what it was—a dramatic fabrication which caught the imagination of people and has been carried along from generation to generation. Nevertheless, despite all efforts made to explode it, the dramatic tale of Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicking over the lantern continues to persist. The author does a magnificent job in showing the combination of unfortunate forces of nature and events that caused such tragic destruction of life and property—the exceptionally dry summer, the high wind for which the "windy city" is noted on occasion, the dry wooden structures, plank sidewalks, all like tinder boxes awaiting the onslaught of the fire: the inadequate fire equipment, and finally the destruction of the water works at Chicago Avenue near the lake. This last setback rendered the efforts of the heroic fire department all but futile in the face of the combined forces of nature. In broad strokes, the author has painted a story of heroism, courage, greed, and petty thievery, touched off by bits of humor. When it finally expended itself, leaving in its wake charred ruins, desolation and human misery, all seemed utterly hopeless; but Joseph Medill, editor of one of Chicago's leading newspapers, and later to become its mayor, prognostigated "Chicago shall rise again."

To the Catholic reader some additional information might have been apropos. A more detailed account of the work of the heroic and dedicated

nuns who saved the lives of the orphans of St. Joseph's Asylum at State and Superior Streets would have added an interesting detail supported by unimpeachable evidence. The *Messenger,* a publication of Holy Family Parish of the period, stated pointedly:

> Great praise is due to the good Sisters who had the care of them, that not one of them was lost. They had to carry many of them in their arms for about a mile, and protect the others that were able to walk as they hurried along in the crowd that was fleeing in wild confusion before the pursuing fire which sent its firebrands in showers, sometimes a square ahead of it, to hasten the work of destruction.

Unknown to many present-day worshippers, the seven vigil lights still burning before the statue of the Blessed Virgin in this west side church commemorate the escape of the edifice from destruction in the fire. It is a further fact of some significance to a Catholic reader that during the year 1872 the Right Reverend Thomas Foley, Coadjutor Bishop of Chicago, made his home at St. Ignatius College on the west side, due to the fact that the cathedral and episcopal residence had been destroyed. Aside from these few omissions Cromie's book is a readable and exciting account of Chicago's greatest tragedy, a story effectively and tellingly told.

JOHN A. ZVETINA

Loyola University
Chicago

American Labor Unions and Politics, 1900-1918. By Marc Karson. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 358. $6.50.)

This volume is the latest in a long series of publications dealing with the political activity of organized labor. Sometimes people have the impression that the participation of unions in politics is a new development. Actually, organized American labor has always been in politics. The first labor party in the world was established in Philadelphia in 1828. If the contemporary AFL-CIO is more powerful politically than its antecedents, the difference is only one of degree. Even the very conservative Samuel Gompers imbedded deeply in the structure of the old American Federation of Labor the political policy of "reward our friends, punish our enemies." The approach of labor could hardly have been otherwise since rarely did expanding American business resist the temptation to use governmental power against the formation of labor unions and against social welfare legislation.

Most of Karson's book recapitulates the earlier writings of Commons, Perlman, Saposs, and Millis with, perhaps, more use of official AFL state-

ments than previously collated in one place. In fact, the earlier portion of the book is nothing more than an interpretative chronology of the AFL under the Republicans and Woodrow Wilson during World War I. A whole chapter is devoted to the social thought of the early labor barons which was not always liberal or far-sighted. Gompers himself was opposed to such things as unemployment insurance, while some of his confrères did not think too kindly of the Negroes or the Chinese. Two chapters deal with the conflicts, ideological and practical, between the AFL and the IWW.

The chapter that contributes new material to the subject, and the one which has received most attention from reviewers, is entitled "The Roman Catholic Church and American Labor Unions." This chapter, according to Monsignor George G. Higgins, is "required reading for anyone seriously interested in the history of the American labor movement and the history of the Catholic social action movement in the United States." The thesis of these seventy-two pages is this: the Catholic Church, through its teaching and its influence on the members and leaders of the AFL, probably more than any other factor, was responsible for keeping that organization out of the hands of the Socialists.

In the early years of the twentieth century probably one-fifth of the AFL membership was socialistic at least in tendencies, if not by strict affiliation. Marc Karson collects all the significant anti-socialistic preachments of the churchmen during these years and argues that this unrelenting warfare by Catholic bishops could not help influence the thinking of the sixty-four presidents of international unions at that time who were Irish Catholics. Certainly the papal and episcopal statements of the time, and the work of priests like John A. Ryan, Joseph Husslein, S.J., Charles P. Bruehl, and William J. Kerby, had impact. Particularly the friendly relations between these priests and the leaders of labor conditioned the latter's thinking. Even more important, perhaps, was the apostolate of the Milwaukee priest, Peter E. Dietz, and his Militia of Christ which was somewhat of a forerunner of the contemporary Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

However, this reviewer suspects that Karson's case is somewhat overdrawn. If in later years many more social-minded priests and a better constructed social doctrine had at best only a small influence on the policies of the AFL and CIO, we might easily argue that there were other factors involved besides Catholicism in the anti-socialism of the young AFL, chief among them being the disillusionment of old line Socialists like Gompers, the prevalence of the American Dream concept, and, even in those days, the anti-ideological mentality of the average American. The trail from cause to effect in this social process is not always discernible. Karson makes his case, too easily, I think, out of exaggerated claims such as the one made by Bishop Ignatius F. Horstmann of Cleveland: "I have secured from

every parish priest in my diocese the names of his two best men. Whenever I want men together for their advice and support, I simply touch a button and in 24 hours my men are together ready to oppose any anti-Catholic legislation. Now if so much can be done in this state, what can the representatives from Catholic Societies in every part of the United States do?" I submit that the defeat of Socialism in the AFL councils was not that easy.

Mr. Karson writes well, although he is too inclined at times to give unsupported psychological interpretations of events. The index and bibliography are quite well done, although the footnotes at the back of the book are awkward to reach. The author has made a few mistakes involving dates and names, but these are rare and always minor.

GEORGE A. KELLY

Family Life Bureau
Archdiocese of New York

Efforts of Raymond Robins toward the Recognition of Soviet Russia and the Outlawry of War, 1917-1933. By Sister Anne Vincent Meiburger, C.C.V.I. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 225. $2.50.)

This book, as its title suggests, tells not of one, but of two developments of the period between two major wars. Each is of significance and, according to the author, related one to the other; although not as she had hypothesized by a cause and effect relationship. The portrayal of the exhaustive and exhausting efforts of Raymond Robins to effect American recognition of Soviet Russia and also to bring about the outlawry of war by international agreement is without parallel. Although of necessity the account assumes the nature of a biography at points, it is far more; it serves in reality as a competent discussion of two episodes in American history heretofore neglected in the usual texts dealing with American international affairs between the two wars. The impact of Robins' actions as a member of the Red Cross Mission to Russia is recounted in much detail. The interplay between Robins as civilian humanitarian in Russia and the officialdom of government action is called into relief largely through interpretations of the Robins Papers and the Alexander Gumberg Papers, as well as other pertinent source materials, each completely cited in the appended bibliography of the text. The apparent frustrations of Robins as his move to secure recognition falls prey to the currents of the time is made obvious to the reader, as is his apparent need to concentrate his efforts after January, 1924, on the movement to outlaw war. It becomes clear to the reader that between 1924 and 1932 the movement for recognition of Soviet Russia came to play a quite secondary part in the activities of Robins and his followers.

In addition to seeing Robins as the internationalist, the reader also comes to see his domestic activities, particularly those with the Republican Party during the period under consideration. His association here stems in part, of course, from the need of securing continual approval of his efforts by the government of the United States if his objectives were to be realized. This association, it must be concluded, caused consternation on the part of both at various times, for as the author states, "Robins was first and last a politician who thoroughly enjoyed the game" (p. 188).

Readers of this volume will be particularly appreciative of the appendices to the text, one of which gives a succinct biographical sketch of the man about whom the work is primarily written; another of which provides a convenient source of the statement on American attitude toward recognition of Russia made by Secretary of State Colby and considered by many to be the most dominant view on the subject made during the period considered; while the third reviews the whole issue of recognition from a memorandum sent to President Harding in 1920 by the former Governor of New York, James P. Goodrich. It is the opinion of this reviewer that Sister Anne Vincent's work may well stimulate among historians a further consideration of the period of 1917-1933 with particular reference to American foreign policy toward Russia.

GRACE H. GREEN

South Macomb Community College
Warren, Michigan

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus. By His Son Ferdinand. Translated and annotated by Benjamin Keen. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1959. Pp. xxxii, 316. $7.50.)

One of the classic "my father" chronicles has finally received a complete and skillfully rendered English translation. Although the chronicler always made it clear that his father, Christopher Columbus, was only the second greatest man ever born (son Ferdinand was, after all, a Christian), the reader was at the same time given to understand that anyone who in the slightest way crossed the Admiral of the Ocean Sea was an unconscionable rogue. Unfortunately, such villains abounded, and the stories of their plots against the great discoverer comprise some of the most interesting reading in the book, proving once again that Spanish America was conceived in rebellion. While the account is more polemical than historical, it does provide a valuable insight into the nature of the period which it describes. Ferdinand's biography captures admirably the two poles which characterized late mediaeval and early modern times: the spirit of scientific interest

and inductive research, curiosity and rationalism on one hand; and superstition, gullability, and blind respect for the principles of tradition on the other. Despite the fact that he was not the most solicitous of Spaniards for the spiritual and physical well-being of the Indians, Ferdinand did mention some of the early attempts to aid aborigines, and sandwiched into his chronicles the relation of Fray Ramón Pane dealing with the Taino Indians of Española. The value of Pane's writings (included in the present translation) caused no less an authority than Edward G. Bourne to refer to the "poor anchorite of the Order of St. Jerome" as one of the founders of American anthropology. Pane's account also furnishes valuable information on early Indian baptisms, noting that the Tainos readily became Christians when taught only that there was a God Who made all things. "There was no need of further discussion or instruction, so well disposed were they to the faith" (p. 168).

The reviewer does not have at hand the Italian texts (1571 and 1930) which formed the essential bases for Benjamin Keen's translation, and so he cannot waste time by investigating whether the translator was always accurate in his handling of prepositions or whether he altered the use of commas. The translation reads well, and preserves the flavor of sixteenth-century chronicle writings, surely no small feat. The well written introduction in brief and scholarly fashion considers some of the points which have rendered the Ferdinand Columbus biography so debatable a work. Professor Keen has provided judicious annotations, and he has included helpful maps and enjoyable reproductions of appropriate sixteenth-century illustrations, as well as a useful index. The publishers upheld their responsibilities by providing an artistically planned volume benefiting from good paper and printing.

FREDERICK B. PIKE

University of Notre Dame

Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. Tomo II, libros 3-6 (*años 1597-1639*). By Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J. [Biblioteca Instituti Historici, S.J., Volume XIII.] Edited by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., and Félix Zubillaga, S.J. (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.J. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 747. L. 3,750. $6.00.)

Recently it has been said that the history of sixteenth-century New Spain is sufficiently known; what is now needed is a greater fund of information on the seventeenth century in that viceroyalty. This is reason enough to welcome the republication of books three to six of Father Alegre's *Historia,* especially since the faulty edition of 1841 has become so rare. Incidentally, Volume I of this work was reviewed in this journal

two years ago. [XLIII (July, 1957), 193-194]. A glance through the older histories of Mexico will demonstrate how important a source is the work of this eighteenth-century classicist. Though in these books he is still retracing the history of Andrés Pérez de Ribas of a century earlier, he checks and corrects his predecessor on many points.

The editors continue to present a critical edition of the original manuscript, complete even to erasures. Each Jesuit named, or indirectly referred to in the narrative, receives a thumbnail biographical sketch. Documents from Jesuit archives are appended in support of the text and these fill a full third of the volume. For further information on various points Fathers Burrus and Zubillaga cite the standard secondary authorities, purposely avoiding reference to documentary collections. Six old but extremely useful maps are reprinted: tables of bishops, provincials, number of Jesuits in service in New Spain, etc., supplement the critical apparatus. A bibliography and index are added, of course.

There are two main currents in the history of these forty-odd years: labor in the cities, consisting of establishment of new foundations with consolidation of older ones, and development of the missions on the northwestern frontier of New Spain. As to the first, Alegre's accounts of the flood of 1606 and its aftermath, the mulatto rising of 1609, and the riots of 1624 have an importance greater than the simple concerns of Jesuit history; the publication of several new documents here underscore this point. The principal events of strictly Jesuit history are the founding of the colleges of Guatemala and Mérida. The determination of the editors to avoid citing documentary collections results in their notes on the Guatemala foundation beclouding rather than clarifying the circumstances. The situation is much clearer if one consults the first thirty pages of John Tate Lanning's *Reales Cédulas de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1954). Such lapses are, happily, extremely infrequent. The remainder of Jesuit history in the cities deals with comparative minutiae; but scattered through these items one finds a goodly number of notes on a variety of interesting topics. These range from the founding of Jesuit activity in Colombia, through bibliography, and down to the provincial who thought he knew better than the Jesuit general who the provincial's successor should be.

On the missionary frontier, these years were the "golden age" of Jesuit missionary activity in Sinaloa and Sonora. The zeal of the missionaries of this generation drove them to build on the foundation established by the pioneers of the 1590's, and complete the conversion of the Sinaloa Indians to Christianity. This consuming zeal, coupled with the natural advantages of the military and diplomatic genius of Diego Martínez de Hurdaide and the favorable habitation pattern of Sonora, caused the work of conversion

to proceed with ever increasing speed. Those who have followed the studies of the editors, the monographs of the late Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., and the relevant portions of Father John Francis Bannon's *Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620-1687* (New York, 1955) have a more rounded account than is found in Alegre's text. Yet this portion of the work has not entirely lost its value; there still remains some unmined detail. Those who meet the history of this area for the first time will find the present volume an invaluable guide to complete literature on the subject.

To sum up, this is an extraordinarily well edited classic, made the more informative by the diligent and accurate research of Fathers Burrus and Zubillaga.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY

Siena College

Political Changes in Latin America. The Emergence of the Middle Sectors. By John J. Johnson. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 272. $5.00.)

For the last generation Latin America has been undergoing profound and sometimes amazingly rapid social developments. The outside world of Europe and North America was only vaguely aware of these new forces shaping up south of the Rio Grande. It was only when such socio-economic forces took a violent turn that they were given serious notice in the North American or European press. Mexico was much noticed precisely because of the violence surrounding the assassination of Madero, the depredations of Pancho Villa, and the apparent dashing bravado of Venustiano Carranza. But without this fanfare other equally significant and deep seated movements were passed over by the press of the rest of the world with a few lines of generalities condensed from the wire reports or the all too superficial observations in the by-line feature story of some itinerant newsman. The eyes of the world in the last generation have been focused largely on Europe and increasingly on the Far East. Latin America, except for the sudden importance which it enjoyed during the brief war years, has largely been a forgotten continent—a huge blank as it were in the mental atlas of otherwise quite well informed persons.

Thus a study such as that presented by Dr. Johnson fills a real need. This work constitutes an explanation in detail of these extremely important changes which have gone on in some cases since around the turn of the century and have slowly produced a different Latin America from that conceived in the minds of outsiders. Dr. Johnson has planned his volume in such a way that the general background of the nineteenth century is first considered, followed by a study of the middle class throughout Latin America with a final concentration on Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Mexico,

and Brazil with a concluding chapter entitled "Retrospect and Prospect." The author expresses his basic thesis very well in the preface where he states: "I hold that the urban middle groups are vitally, if not decisively, important in an area where one still commonly hears that there is 'no middle class to speak of'—a statement that is both partially true and dangerously misleading." It is to the rise of this rather neglected "middle sector," as he calls it, that the author devotes his study. During the nineteenth century and until well after 1900 these elements formed a very thin layer between the illiterate masses and the land-owning aristocracy. But after 1900 they became more numerous due to the demands of technology, the expansion of education, and the growth of bureaucratic national governments. All these new avenues of employment increased the number of this new class until in the larger nations of Latin America they slowly became articulate entities in the body politic. But while they have become more important, they are not a tightly knit class, e.g., like the urban proletariat. Their origins are too diverse for this. The members come from the old colonial families, from the mulattoes, mestizos, Negroes, and immigrants from Europe. Some tend to be conservative regarding property and its rights, others tend to be more radical regarding these matters and are to be found in the vanguard of radical movements for social and economic reforms.

In all the countries of importance in the Latin American world this new social class, despite its heterogeneous makeup, have exercised a temporizing influence on the new reform governments which have appeared in the last generation. They have frequently suffered from the extremism of such movements as was notably the case in Mexico during the early days of the social revolution, in Argentina under the rule of Peron, in Brazil to a somewhat lesser degree under Vargas, while in Uruguay their lot was, perhaps, happier than in any of the other republics. In many instances the middle sectors have relied for their rise partly on the support of the laboring elements. But now, as Dr. Johnson sees it, they have tended to become more independent of the proletarian elements as the national life has become more stable. But the future may be fraught with difficulties as the national economies of many Latin nations have recently undergone new crises due to currency inflation.

The Church with its new social programs of reform has drawn upon this class more than ever as a reservoir of leadership and has, in turn, received considerable support from them. But the religious issue, which in most major countries outside of Mexico has been settled in a relatively peaceful manner, is not the major problem. Economic equilibrium appears to be the major motivating force in most areas. It is the goal toward which the middle sectors are working. Their greatest traditional opponents have been the army, the old landowning aristocracy, and the dictators. Little by

little they have tended to overcome them all. The army has gradually become staffed by persons from this group, and their thinking has permeated military ranks. Social and technological progress has tended to lessen the old traditional power of the landowners. In the case of the dictators, the middle sectors have at times been forced to endure and to suffer while the era of personal power was at its height only to emerge when the dictators had run their course. This was notably the case in Mexico after Cardenas, in Argentina after Peron, and in Brazil after Vargas. All in all this is at present by far the most expansive, the best educated, and the most capable group from an executive point of view. It has become indispensable in the present and the foreseeable life of the major Latin states.

This is a much needed book. This reviewer, who has spent five years in Brazil, can truthfully say that it presents a very clear and careful picture of the new social pattern in South America. No other study comparable to it has appeared in English. It is, therefore, an indispensable volume for all interested in the major changes of our times among our neighbors to the south. The author writes with a clarity of style combined with a mastery of factual material which makes this study at once informative, readable, and useful as a first-class work of reference on a vitally important topic.

THOMAS E. DOWNEY

Seattle University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, of which Monsignor Michele Maccarrone, editor of the *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, is secretary, has made known its desire that as large a number of Catholic historians as possible attend the eleventh Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Stockholm in 1960. Our readers will recall the general audience granted by the late Pope Pius XII to the delegates of the previous congress held at Rome in September, 1955, and the allocution he delivered on that occasion which appeared in an English translation in *The Tablet* of London (September 24, 1955) under the title, "The Catholic Church and History."

A group interested in local Catholic history assembled on April 13 in Ashland, Wisconsin, to organize the Catholic Historical Society of Wisconsin. Miss Agnes Benoe, historian of Catholicism in Ashland, was named as first president of the society, and the principal address at the inaugural meeting was delivered by the Right Reverend Gerald F. Mahon, pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church in Merrill, who spoke on René Ménard, the French-born Jesuit missionary who in October, 1660, said the first Mass on the south shore of Lake Superior some miles north of the village of L'Anse. The REVIEW is happy to extend its congratulations to the new society and to wish it every success in making better known the Catholic past of the State of Wisconsin.

The Department of History of the University of Notre Dame sponsored on April 22 a panel discussion in commemoration of the centennial of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Raymond J. Maras spoke on "Darwin, Darwinism, and Social Darwinism," while Gerard E. Graf of the Department of Biology and Vincent E. Smith of the Department of Philosophy discussed Darwin from the viewpoints of science and philosophy, respectively. Aaron I. Abell, professor of American history, acted as chairman. On April 24 Dr. Maras delivered the opening paper, "A French Scientist during the French Revolution and the Consulate, N.J. Conté," at a meeting of the Midwest Junto, a section of the History of Science Society which was held at Allerton House at the University of Illinois.

The second annual roundtable conference of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of Georgetown University was held on April 25-26 when ten papers were read on various aspects of the general theme, "National Self-Determination: Its Successes and Failures." The executive director of the institute is Professor Tibor Kerekes.

The University of Texas sponsored on May 1-2 a roundtable discussion on "The Mexican Revolution, Exploration for Inter-disciplinary Research." Participants included Eastin Nelson, Wendell C. Gordon, Thomas F. McGann, Karl M. Schmitt, Carey Thompson, Carl M. Rosenquist, and Stanley R. Ross. The meeting also featured the Charles Wilson Hackett Memorial Lecture, delivered by the distinguished historian and representative of Mexico to the UNESCO, Daniel Cosío Villegas.

A symposium commemorating the 400th anniversary of the religious settlement enacted by the first parliament of Elizabeth I (January-May, 1559) was held at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis on May 9. Three points of view on the settlement were represented in the papers and discussion by Thomas L. Coonan of Saint Louis University (Catholic), Charles F. Mullet of the University of Missouri (Anglican), and Lowell Zuck of Eden Theological Seminary (Reformed). In this connection *The Tablet* (London) for May 2 carried an article by George A. Beck, A.A., Bishop of Salford, on "The Elizabethan Settlement Four Hunderd Years After."

Through the generosity of the Coe Foundation the Graduate School of Boston College is sponsoring an Institute in American Studies from June 24 to July 29. The enrollment has been limited to twenty-five selected high school teachers of history, social studies, and English who have been awarded fellowships. Besides seminars, field trips, and informal discussion groups there will be two formal courses, one in American political and constitutional history by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., of the University of Illinois, and the other in American literature and the social scene by Randall Stewart, professor of English in Vanderbilt University. The director of the institute is John Rickards Betts whose article on Darwinism and the American Catholics appears in this issue of the REVIEW.

Mount Saint Mary's College of Los Angeles will sponsor a Christian Culture Series as part of its 1959 summer session. The theme will be the Christian Era of History and the educational views of Christopher Dawson. John J. Mulloy of La Salle College, Philadelphia, and editor of the synthesis volume of Dawson's thought, *The Dynamics of History* (New York, 1956), will participate. Courses in the Six Stages of Christendom; Christianity, Philosophy, and the meaning of World History; and a workshop on Christianity and the Open Society will be offered.

The philosophy section of the American Benedictine Academy, meeting at Holy Cross Abbey, Canon City, Colorado, in August will deal with the

philosophy of history. Topics to be explored will be "The Philosophy of History," by Linus McManamon, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's College, Atchison; "Christopher Dawson's Place Among Metahistorians," by Sister Incarnata Gergin, O.S.B., of the College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minnesota; and "Carl L. Becker as a Secular Theorist of History," by Otho Sullivan, O.S.B., also of St. Benedict's College, Atchison. The discussant for all three papers will be Aloysius Plaisance, O.S.B., chairman of the Department of History of St. Bernard's College, St. Bernard, Alabama.

Some intriguing activities are underway in the School of Library Science at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, for the utilization of mechanical and electronic devices in the pursuit of research. At the recent Denver meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, James W. Perry of the American Documentation Institute and Jesse H. Shera of Western Reserve University examined and evaluated the potential of these new tools for easing the burden of the historian. The principles of machine and system design as an aid for the indexing and analysis of historical source materials were exemplified by using the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, War of the Rebellion* as a pilot study. It was the conclusion of the speakers that these modern devices can be used to discover and to speed up the isolation of specific data in an extensive collection of documents; they are, however, no substitute for creative thinking, expert understanding, evaluation, and judgment. More detailed information about these novel techniques is available in *Tools for Machine Literature Searching,* by J. W. Perry, Allen Kent, and John L. Melton (Interscience Publishers, New York, 1958).

The first issue of an important new journal in the field of Latin American studies appeared in January of this year. The *Journal of Inter-American Studies,* published by the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida, prints articles in any one of the official languages of the American republics. The first issue included contributions by C. Harvey Gardiner, J. Fred Rippy, and a provocative appraisal of trends in twentieth-century social thought in Latin America by Harold E. Davis.

Alfred Wikenhauser's *New Testament Introduction* (English translation, New York, Herder and Herder) is reviewed very favorably in *Theological Studies* [XX (March, 1959), 114-116]. The same issue contains an excellent bibliographical article by Martin R. P. McGuire of the Catholic University of America on "The History of the Church from Pentecost to 604: A Survey of Research, 1954-1958" (pp. 82-107).

Since 1956 attention has been called to a third-century papyrus which contains much of the Gospel of St. John. Victor Martin has edited the manuscript in *Papyrus Bodmer* II (Cologny-Geneva, 1956, 1958), which has provided occasion for discussion by M-E. Boismard, O.P., in the *Revue Biblique* [74 (July, 1957), 363-398] and, more recently, for Bruce Metzger's "Recent Discoveries and Investigations of New Testament Manuscripts," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* [78 (March, 1959), 13-20]. Professor Metzger includes a bibliography on the New Testament materials among the Nag-Hammadi Gnostic papyrus which is the subject of Jean Doresse's "The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics," promised for publication by Viking later this year.

The careful balance reflected in José Ruysschaert's judgments on the recent Vatican excavations [cf. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* 48 (1953); 49 (1954); 52 (1957)] reappears in his work on "The Tomb of Peter" which will furnish three articles for *Thought,* the first of which appeared in the spring issue for 1959. In that connection E. Kirschbaum's *The Tombs of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul* was announced in Blackwell's *Books New and Forthcoming* for the spring of this year.

Pasquale Testini, Secretary of the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archeology, has recently published his *Archeologia cristiana: Nozioni generali dalle origini alla fine del sec. VI* (Rome, Desclée, pp. xvi, 776, Lire 6,000).

Jean Paul Audet's important *La Didachè, Instructions des apôtres* (Paris, 1958) is the subject of a discriminating review by Angelo Coppo in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* [73 (1959), 38-48].

The latest issue of the *Proceedings* of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee contains four brief papers that were read at the conference on diocesan and local history at Easter, 1958. Patrick J. Dunning, C.M., of St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, spoke on "The Letters of Innocent III as a Source for Irish History"; Urban J. Flanagan, O.P., of St. Mary's Priory, Cork, on "Papal Letters of the Fifteenth Century as a Source for Irish History"; Colmcille Conway, O.C.R., on "Sources for the History of the Irish Cistercians, 1142-1540," and Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., of University College, Dublin, entitled his paper, "Towards a New 'Monasticon Hibernicum.'" The publication can be secured for two shillings from M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 50 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin.

Joseph Gill, S.J., continues his series on "Personalities of the Council of Florence" with an article on the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, in *Unitas* [X (Winter, 1958), 230-240]. Father Gill's major work, *The Council of Florence,* has recently been published by the Cambridge University Press and will be reviewed in a future issue of the REVIEW.

Students of Martin Luther will be interested in two recent publications, viz., the monograph of F. Edward Cranz, *An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society,* in an extra number of *Harvard Theological Studies* [XIX (1959)], and John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., "Luther and Tetzel's Preaching of Indulgences, 1516-1518," in *Franciscan Studies* [XVIII (March, 1958), 82-88].

The Council of Trent's decree of April 8, 1546, on the censure of books has been treated by C. Eykens in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* [34 (1958), 496-521] under the title "Het Concile van Trente en de Boekencensuur."

A paper read by David Mathew, titular Archbishop of Apamea in Bithynia, at the conference of Catholic historians held at Oxford during April, 1958, concerning recusant history is now in print. ["The Approach to Recusant History," *Dublin Review,* 479 (Spring, 1959), 24-32.] It is a revealing account of the difficulties that impede any accurate assessment of Catholic life during the Elizabethan, Stuart, and Hanoverian regimes. He suggests some avenues of research that can lead to a brighter knowledge of those periods when the high nobility, squirearchy, and lower classes represented some sort of self-sufficient unity.

In 1662 Charles II granted a charter to the Royal Society of London thereby approving the existence of an important witness to the progress of experimental science. Two years later Henry Oldenburg, first secretary of the society, began the publication of *Philosophical Transactions* where space was given to papers of scientists, both Catholic and Protestant. In spite of the disfavor that clouded the Society of Jesus in England at this time, *Philosophical Transactions* accepted articles and comments from Jesuits abroad. Conor Reilly, S.J., has compiled a list of these articles that reveals the wide variety of their interests. Besides astronomy and optical science, there are records of advances in mathematics, physics, cartography, even practical inventions such as the formula compounded by Athanasius Kircher, S.J., for a dye that would "sink into and colour the whole body of marble, causing a picture drawn on the surface to appear also in the

inmost parts of the stone." One article by M. Auzout, using the lunar maps of J. B. Riccioli, S.J., bears a title that seems to have particular pertinence for the twentieth century, "Speculations on the Changes likely to be Discovered in the Earth and Moon by their Respective Inhabitants" (p. 346).

April 19 marked the centenary of the death of Alexis de Tocqueville whose position as a historian and prophet has been widely discussed in recent years. Edward T. Gargan of Loyola University, Chicago, gives a favorable appraisal of his writings and character together with a chronological list of more than 100 representative articles and books that appeared since 1935, the hundredth anniversary of the appearance of *De la démocratie en Amérique*. ["Some Problems in Tocqueville Scholarship," *Mid-America,* XLI (January, 1959), 3-26.]

William J. Battersby, F.S.C., author of a number of works in the history of Catholic education of which the most recent is *St. John Baptist de la Salle* (New York, 1957), writing in *The Tablet* of London for April 25 on the subject of "Church History At School," has some things to say that are as pertinent to the Catholic secondary schools of this country as they are to those in England. Among the values of such a study for Catholic high school students would be overcoming the ignorance of the general run of students of the Church's history, its unique quality as a co-ordinating discipline, and the service such a course might render in helping to avoid the worst features of specialization and a too close conformity to the regulations of secular curricula.

It will be remembered that on the day of his death, February 10, 1939, Pope Pius XI was scheduled to address the Italian episcopate on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Lateran treaties with Italy. The text of the proposed discourse, left unfinished, has not until now been published. Pope John XXIII read the manuscript when visiting the Archives of the Secretariate of State on January 26, 1959. He has quoted verbatim significant sections of Pius' discourse in his recent letter of February 6, 1959, to the bishops of Italy, the text of which appeared in *Osservatore Romano* for February 9-10, 1959, and which is rendered into French by *La Documentation Catholique* [No. 1298 (March 1, 1959), cc. 257-264].

The Month for February, 1959, is dedicated entirely to a study of Catholicism in Norway. The aim of the issue is to acquaint readers with the possibilities of a second spring in that country in spite of the successful Lutherization that occurred in the sixteenth century. Considering that

Catholics in this Nordic diaspora number only about 5,000 out of a total population of three to four million, this might seem fanciful. However, there is considerable interest in the Church that could be further stimulated by cultural and literary sympathy from outside. The articles are written by Norwegians except for a study by David Knowles on the missionary activities of Nicholas Breakspeare.

A review of the historiography of the Catholic Church in Australia has been made by K. S. Inglis, senior lecturer in history in the University of Adelaide. He accepts the four-fold division of its history proposed more than sixty years ago by Patrick Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, viz., the phase of persecution (to 1820), of parital tolerance (to 1850), of nominal religious equality (to 1880), and the new phase, thriving at the present, of unrestricted equality with other religious denominations. Mr. Inglis believes, however, that many of the historians of the past, while presenting good histories, have been too preoccupied with a need of stressing the "monolithic unity" of Catholicism in Australia to the neglect of the internal crises that point greatly to its healthy and vigorous growth, e.g., the tensions between secular and regular missionaries over policies of administration, intensified further by sentiments of nationalism and the tendencies toward a type of trusteeism similar to that which plagued the early Church in the United States. He pleads particularly for more research into the loyalty of the laity during these difficult years. ["Catholic Historiography in Australia," *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand,* XXXI (November, 1958), 233-253.] In a second article in the same issue Celia Hamilton, Fulbright research scholar at Canberra University College, deals with "Irish Catholics of New South Wales and the Labor Party, 1890-1910," in which she analyzes the reasons for the support given to that party by the Australian Catholics of Irish birth or extraction.

Aside from the break of a number of Polish congregations under the leadership of Francis Hodur of the Diocese of Scranton in the 1890's, the Catholic Church has had no sizeable schism from its ranks during its nearly 170 years of organized life in the United States. Probably the next most numerous group to have left the Church were the French Canadian immigrants of northern Illinois who followed Charles P. Chiniquy (1809-1899), pastor of St. Anne, Illinois, when he repudiated the authority of Bishop James Duggan, Administrator of the Diocese of Chicago, in August, 1858. Recently Professor Marcel Trudel of Laval University provided the first scholarly biography of the schismatic in *Chiniquy* (Trois-Rivières, 1955). William J. Price of the University of Notre Dame has now undertaken to write the history of the schism itself with the aid of

hitherto unpublished documents from the archives of Montreal, Quebec, and Notre Dame. The first installment of Father Price's contribution appeared in the March issue of the *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* and is entitled "Aux Origines d'un Schisme. Le Centenaire d'une Réconciliation Avortée." Further installments will appear in subsequent issues of the same journal.

E. L. Mascall's *The Recovery of Unity* (Longmans, 1958) is evaluated by Kevin McNamara of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, under the title "An Anglican View of the Primacy," in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* [XXVI (January, 1959), 73-81].

No. 57 of *La Maison-Dieu. Revue de pastorale liturgique* (Paris, Editions du Cerf) for 1959 is devoted to the problem posed for the French Church by the existence of the small rural parish wherein some sixteen to eighteen million faithful are today being cared for by 21,000 priests while twenty-four million city dwellers have the services of but 7,200 priests. The discussion is synthesized in *Études* [301 (April, 1959), 105-108].

Thirty-eight students from twenty-three seminaries in the United States competed for the prizes offered by *St. Meinrad Essays* for the best essays on a subject in American Catholic history. The first prize ($150) was won by Richard K. MacMaster, S.J., of Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, for his essay on "Father Benedict Fenwick, S.J., and the End of the Charleston Schism, 1818-1820." The second prize ($100) was awarded to Thomas J. Shelley of St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York, for an essay entitled "Orestes Brownson and Archbishop Hughes," and the third prize ($50) went to David Jacquet of St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland, for his contribution on "Bishop Gilmour and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore." Honorable mention was given as well to the essays of Edward J. Walsh of St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, and Michael J. Murphy of St. Bernard's Seminary. The judges of the contest were Annabelle M. Melville of the State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, J. Herman Schauinger of the College of St. Thomas, and John Tracy Ellis of the Catholic University of America.

Volume XVIII of *Scriptorium,* edited for private circulation by the clerics of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, is another highly creditable contribution by these student monks. It opens with a series of quotations in translation from the official *Acta* of the Holy See wherein the pontiffs from Leo XIII to Pius XII dwelt upon the nature of monastic work as they interpreted the *Rule* of St. Benedict. Two other items in translation which

have been running serially are continued, viz., Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* and the *Traité des Études Monastiques* (1691) of Dom Jean Mabillon, O.S.B. In the latter the great Maurist gave a noble defense of scholarly pursuits on the part of the monks against the attacks of Abbot Jean-Armand de Rancé of La Trappe. There are also five letters from Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., written between October 29, 1845, and September 1, 1846, with the last from on board the *Iowa* about three weeks before the American Benedictine founder and his little band landed in New York. Besides a necrology and chronicle this number also contains an informative article entitled "Harbinger of Change: *Romanos Pontifices*," which gives the historical setting for Leo XIII's constitution of May, 1881, which regulated the relations between the bishops and religious orders in England, a measure which, upon the request of the American hierarchy, was applied to this country in September, 1885. One of the special merits of this article is the intelligent use that it makes of the microfilm copies of the correspondence of Abbot Bernard Smith (c. 1815-1892) who acted for so many years as the Roman agent of a large number of churchmen in the English-speaking world.

This number of *Scriptorium* suggests one very effective way to overcome the all too prevalent linguistic weakness of American students. The translations from Latin, German, and French as found here offer the kind of training that should prove a valuable asset when later some of these student editors find themselves in graduate schools and called upon to employ sources in these languages.

Volume VI of *Thought Patterns,* an annual publication of St. John's University, New York, is devoted in the main to literature and consists of six essays on a variety of subjects written for the most part by members of the St. John's faculty. The current issue has been edited by Arpad F. Kovacs, chairman of the Department of History and, too, chairman of St. John's Humanities Advisory Research Board.

The following changes in the Department of History at the Catholic University of America will become effective with the opening of the new academic year. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, who has been a member of the department since 1942 and full professor of modern European history since 1944, has accepted a permanent appointment at his *alma mater,* the University of Vienna. Brian Tierney, who came to the University in 1951 and who has been associate professor of mediaeval history since 1957, has been appointed professor at Cornell University.

New appointments include John K. Zeender, who since 1948 has been teaching at the University of Massachusetts and who will have the rank

of associate professor of modern European history. Dr. Zeender received his early training at the Catholic University of America where he received the A.B. degree in 1940 and the master's degree in 1941. In 1952 he took the Ph.D. degree at Yale University with a dissertation on "The Center Party and the Growth of German National Power, 1890-1906." He spent the academic year 1954-1955 in Europe on a Fulbright scholarship where he gathered source materials on German history since 1890 with special emphasis on the Catholic Church.

Robert D. Trisco will also join the department in September with the rank of instructor. Father Trisco, who is a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, was trained at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, and the North American College, Rome, where he was ordained in 1954. Following his ordination he began graduate work in church history at the Gregorian University where he took the doctorate this year with a dissertation dealing with the Catholic Church on the American frontier. In addition to his courses in church history, Father Trisco will serve as archivist of the University and assistant secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Martin J. Higgins, professor of Byzantine history, and John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history, have been granted leaves of absence for the coming academic year during which Monsignor Higgins will prepare a critical edition of the *Strategikon* of the Emperor Maurice and Monsignor Ellis will work on a general history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Nicolas Kowalsky, O.M.I., was nominated in early November as the new archivist of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to replace Giuseppe Monticone who has retired. Father Kowalsky, who was born in Berlin in 1911, entered the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1933 and studied at both the Gregorian University and the Urban College of Propaganda Fide. In 1951 he was named assistant librarian at the Propaganda where he served at the same time as collaborator with Johann Dindinger, O.M.I., and Johann Rommerskirchen, O.M.I., in editing the *Bibliotheca Missionum* and *Bibliografia Missionaria*. Father Kowalsky has been professor of missiology at the Urban College since 1952 and during that time has written a number of articles for the *Études Oblates* of Ottawa, the *Monatsblätter der Oblates* of Hünfeld, and especially for *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft* of Munich and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* which is published at Schöneck in Switzerland.

Fredrick B. Pike, assistant professor of history in the University of Notre Dame and an advisory editor of the REVIEW, has received a

Doherty Fellowship for a year's research in Chile. Dr. Pike will investigate the Chilean Christian Democratic or Falange Party, the oldest such political party in Latin America and considered by some observers to have a chance of winning the 1964 presidential elections.

Lawrence J. McCaffery of the College of St. Catherine, who has been a visiting lecturer during the last academic year at the State University of Iowa, has accepted a position as assistant professor of history in the Division of General Studies at the University of Illinois for the coming year. Eldon M. Talley, formerly of the College of New Rochelle, will join the staff of the Department of History of the College of St. Catherine in September.

Aloysius K. Ziegler, who since 1941 has been head of the Department of History in the Catholic University of America, was named a domestic prelate by Pope John XXIII in early May. Monsignor Ziegler, a priest of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, served as an associate editor of the REVIEW from 1937 to 1957.

William F. Cunningham, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, has received a special award from the American Foundation for Cultural Popular Action in recognition of his long period of work in fostering better inter-American relations. The award was presented by Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Notre Dame's president, on May 3 during the course of a symposium on contemporary Latin America which had been organized by Robert S. Pelton, C.S.C. The American Foundation also plans to publish a biography of Father Cunningham.

Alceu Amoroso Lima, regarded as the leading Catholic Brazilian intellectual, will shortly return to Brazil after having completed his year as the first occupant of the new chair of Brazilian studies at New York University. Professor Lima is enthused over the recent English translation of a work by the Brazilian convert, Gustavo Corção *(My Neighbor as Myself)*, which he considers one of the finest accomplishments of contemporary Catholic literature.

Russell H. Fitzgibbon of the University of California at Los Angeles will shortly return from his sabbatical year which he spent in Europe. Dr. Fitzgibbon spent a considerable period of his stay abroad in Rome where his research in the Latin American field led him to consult the Vatican Archives.

BRIEF NOTICES

AINSWORTH, JOHN F. and EDWARD MACLYSAGHT (Eds.). *Survey of Documents in Private Keeping, Second Series.* [Analecta Hibernica, Volume 20.] (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1958. Pp. xvii, 393. 30/.)

GIBLIN, CATHALDUS, O.F.M. (Ed.). *Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Collection 'Nunziatura di Fiandra' Vatican Archives:* Part I, Volumes 1-50. [Collectanea Hibernica, No. 1.] (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, Ltd. 1958. Pp. 134. 12/6d.)

These two volumes contain summaries of documents dealing with Irish history. The *Analecta* gives a survey of nine collections of documents held by private individuals or estates in Ireland. The largest portion of the material surveyed deals with Irish affairs and institutions between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The various collections reveal some rough ore that the historian will have to refine in the form of leases and wills, inventories and rent lists, maps and passports. The Colclough Papers have a fair amount of material illustrative of the Wexford uprising of 1798; minute books of Galway corporations are listed in the Dillon Papers; the practical difficulties of Catholics in maintaining the faith and in inheriting land are reported in the Nugent Papers. The volume also contains a full index of persons and places; a report on the progress of the publications of the Irish Manuscripts Commission; and a listing of over 200 privately held manuscript collections whose written reports are found in the National Library in Dublin.

The second work is the inaugural publication of the *Collectanea Hibernica* edited by the Franciscan House of Celtic Studies in Killiney, County Dublin. The new work will be "devoted exclusively to the publication of sources for Irish history and guides to such sources." The present volume is a catalogue of material dealing with Irish history in the first fifty volumes of the Nunziatura di Fiandra. There is an informative introduction which gives a short history of the development of Vatican diplomacy in the sixteenth century and of the founding of the nunciature in Flanders. The volumes surveyed cover the years 1552-1665. The most interesting material would seem to be the parts dealing with the efforts of the Duke of Lorraine to aid the Irish with men and arms in the 1650's (Volumes 135-37), and the sections treating of the early career of Peter Talbot the future Archbishop of Dublin (Volume 39). On the whole, however, the material catalogued in the volume sheds little new light on Irish affairs of the period. The editor promises that the more valuable material dealing with the

eighteenth century will be published in future volumes. Perhaps, the most practical feature of the present volume is the listing of the microfilm call numbers in the National Library of all the volumes of the nunciature. The *Collectanea Hibernica* has made an auspicious beginning in behalf of Irish historical scholarship and all students of Irish history should find it a most welcome and helpful companion to the older *Analecta Hibernica.* (JOHN EDMUND O'BRIEN)

ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM. *E. L. Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. Pp. 268. $5.00.)

The last half of the nineteenth century in America was a noisy forum in which the most diverse opinions whirled with utter abandon. From the midst of this forum came the voice of an intrepid Anglo-Irish immigrant, E. L. Godkin, the self-appointed mentor of his generation. As editor of the daily New York *Evening Post* and, the even more famous weekly, the *Nation,* he felt himself obliged to deliver opinions on all the major issues of the day. Although Godkin is well known as a commentator and critic, the accuracy of his observations has never been carefully examined. The present work attempts to do so in the area of American foreign policy. In this carefully researched yet relatively short volume Dr. Armstrong examines Godkin's opinions and influence on such issues as the French intervention into Mexico, the *Alabama* claims, the expansionism of the Grant era, and the "vigorous" diplomacy of the 1890's. On each of these topics, the shifting and back-tracking, the vigor and moral indignation, which were so much a part of Godkin's writings, are all carefully delineated. The author's conclusions are judicious and contain the frank admission that, "Godkin lacked the expanded intellectual outlook that the times demanded."

To attempt an assessment of Godkin's ideas, even in the relatively limited area of American foreign policy is, of itself, significant. The commentaries of this precursor of Mencken have, like Mencken's, gained prestige amongst American historians far greater than their depth and precision justify. The present work, although sympathetic in tone, exposes Godkin as a negative critic whose writings, however quotable, are filled with contradictions. It is this type of painstaking analysis that will remove Godkin, and other such glib commentators, from the pages of American history textbooks. This is not to say that Godkin does not have a place in American history; he occupies an important place in the history of American journalism. But for those seeking a penetrating contemporary analysis, he is merely a professional critic unencumbered by the burdens of objectivity. This study, based on a thorough examination of Godkin's writings, forcefully demonstrates this point. (JOHN J. REARDON)

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